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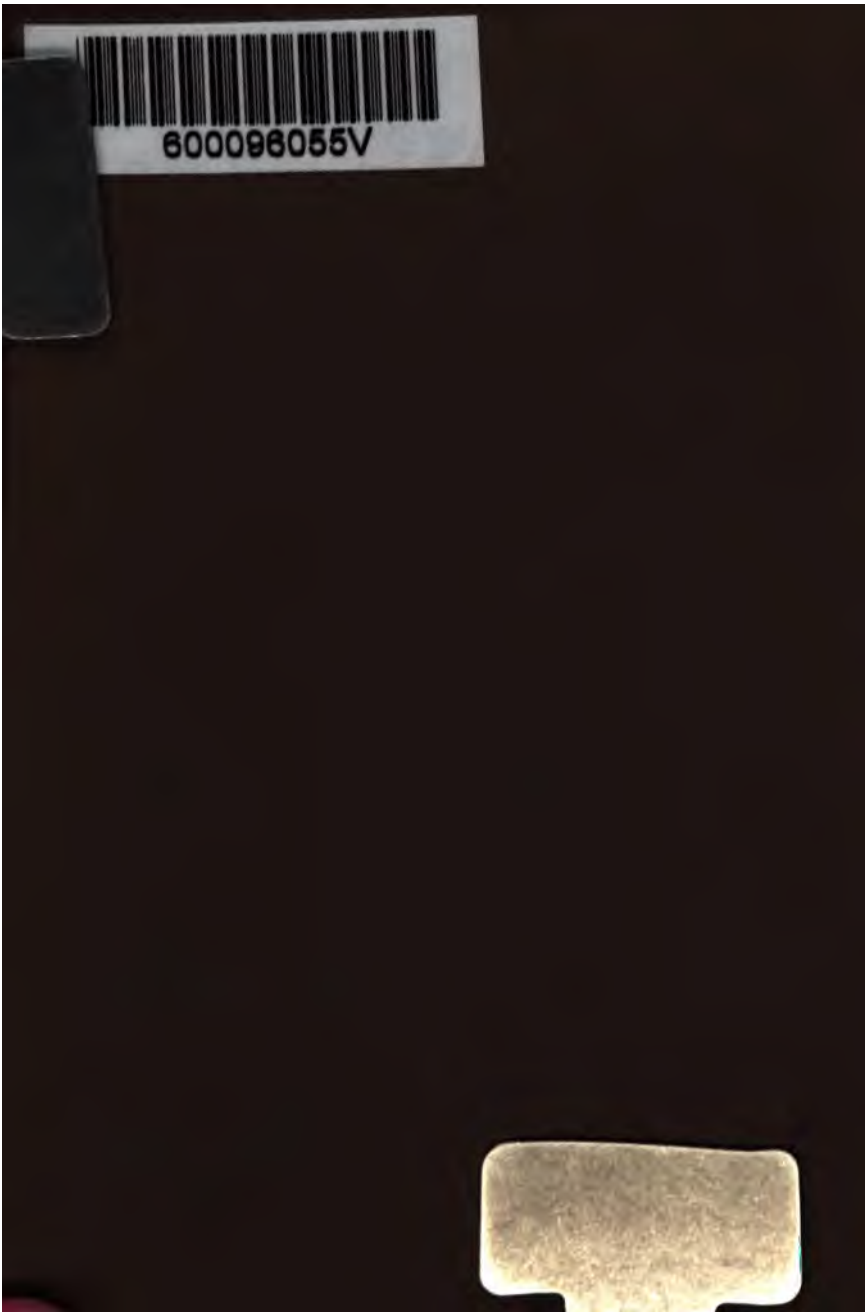
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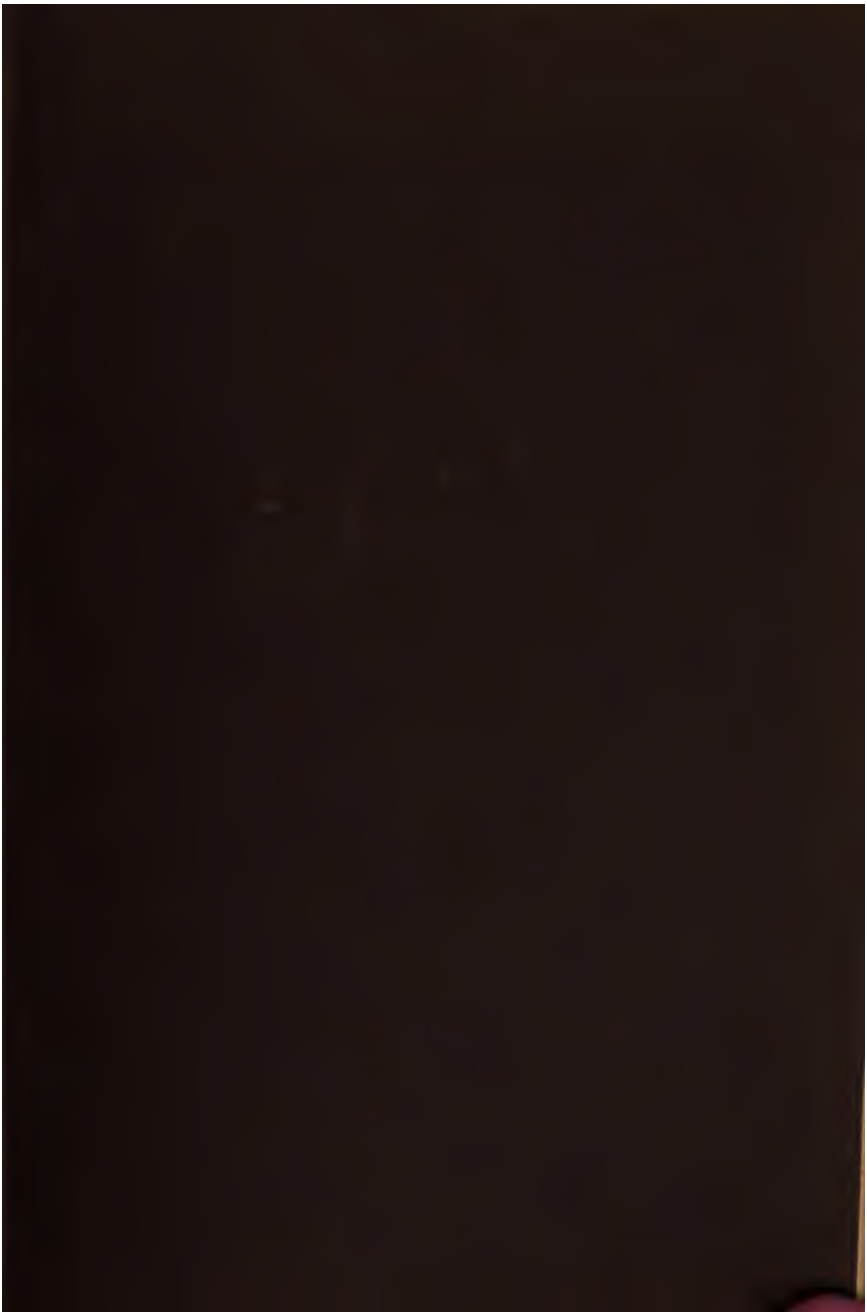

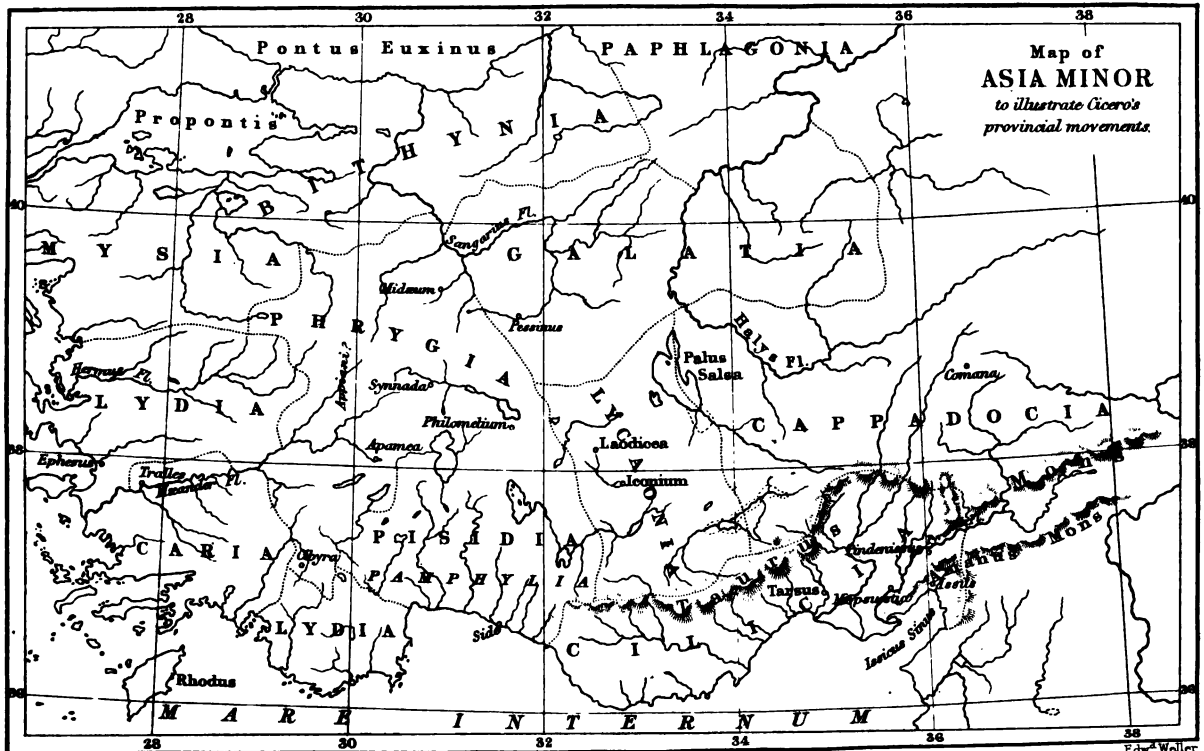

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M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae.

THE

LETTERS OF CICERO.

EDITED BY J. E. YONGE, M.A.

PART I.

containing

BOOKS I., II., AND III.

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PREFACE.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO consists of sixteen books of letters to his general acquaintance; sixteen to Atticus; three to his brother Quintus. In a letter to Tiro (Ep. xvi. 17), and another to Atticus (xvi. 5) he mentions a design of collecting them himself for publication: we do not know how far he followed it up; it is conjectured that the edition as completed was the work of Tiro.

Two modern editors, Billerbeck and Schutz, have arranged them nearly in chronological order; an order naturally followed in the useful illustrative commentary of Abeken. But the older and more usual arrangement has been in separate Books, which group the sets of letters together, as they are addressed to one friend or another; the first Book containing, with one exception, letters to Lentulus; the second, letters chiefly to Curio and Caelius; the third, letters only to Appius. Both systems have their advantages. If the letters are used to supplement historical facts and statements, the adjustment by dates is convenient: if an insight into the writer's own character is sought for, we may remember how much

the tone of thought and language is dependent on mutual relations or personal regard, and we may think the grouping preferable which brings out in greater distinctness the colouring of mind, the shades of feeling or sentiment cast by particular intercourse upon the aspect of the world without.

The Letters of Cicero are among the most justly valued of all the remains of Roman literature. Besides the specimens they give of familiar intercourse, and of the public and private manners of society, they draw up for us the curtain upon scenes of immense historical interest, they lay open the secret workings and movements, the complications and schemes of a great revolutionary period.

They have contributed perhaps to set the writer himself before superficial observers in a false light. It is through him that we have our view of contemporary men and things, it is in their relation to him that we see them; he himself comes always to the front. And a later generation mistakes prominence for pre-eminence.

What has been remarked in regard to Milton is even more true of Cicero, 'that the estimation in which he is now held disables us from judging calmly of the rank in which he stood with his contemporaries.' And hence comes the extravagance of praise and of censure that has been meted out to him.

Few men perhaps who have moved and mingled in the intrigues of political contention could, without

some loss of reputation, bear to have the details of their private and public course laid open so freely to the inspection of friends and foes; fewer still could be drawn, as the force of circumstances drew Cicero, out of or beyond their natural sphere of action without being betrayed into blunders and inconsistencies. And he had fallen upon evil times. That last half century of the Republic was not only marked by anarchy and disorders such as defied ordinary remedies and blinded ordinary foresight; but its massacres, the butcheries of Marius, the retaliation of Sulla, had swept away the best and noblest and wisest of Rome, the most regarded, the most experienced of her statesmen. Not to dwell upon the national results of these things, their effect as to Cicero was to deprive him of the guidance upon which, in fact and in hope, he had depended; to set him prematurely in a foremost place, and at the same time, to imbue his mind with associations of horror which seem to have coloured his every estimate of men and things, and to have heightened his uncertainty of judgment by a haunting sense of distrust and dread.

These considerations may surely account for much of the weakness and vacillation laid to his charge as a public man, and particularly for his conduct in regard to Caesar, the most difficult point of all to defend or understand. For we must recollect that the bias of his early youth led him to revere and cling to the senatorial traditions, to look up to the Scaevolae and Catuli, to their policy and party, as embodying all

state wisdom or state safety: when they were gone who was there on whom he could rely as a statesman or follow as a supporter of the Constitution? Numerous were the aspirants for office and command; but needy, unscrupulous, turbulent, selfish, they disgusted and repelled him by their hollow or heartless scheming. Finally, two alone stood prominent; Cicero, with the Senate, was attracted politically towards Pompey, while personally he was alienated from him by the indifference and arrogance with which he was commonly met. Caesar was the popular favourite, and a dreaded antagonist. Yet Cicero supported and eulogized him in the debate upon the important question of his command in Gaul. This is set down by some to tergiversation. A fair analysis of character and motives may suggest another explanation. I think he acted in this case as in the case of Marius, whom he must have abhorred for his bloody demagogism of 87, yet whom he scruples not to glory in as his fellow-townsman, and warms to his victories as the deliverance of Rome. In this we may recognise the force of a local patriotism; he was obeying the like impulse, and carried away by a national patriotism, when, overlooking Caesar's civil partisanship and dangerous ambition, he let his fancy picture only the 'glorious soldier chaining Victory to his eagles,' and displaying to the exultation of his country 'the greatest military genius that the world had yet seen' (I am quoting from 'Forsyth's Life,' p. 231). But the colours were to

be shifted again; and when the crisis came Cicero declared for Pompey. After Pharsalia came a fresh turn; submission to the conqueror and acceptance of his cause. Yet the newborn zeal and regard for the Dictator may have arisen, as has been well remarked, from the intense relief he felt in the uses made of the victory. Over and above his remembrance of the proscription, he seems to have been impressed by an awe of Caesar; probably he apprehended, with Sulla, that there were many Mariuses in him, and he had seen among his own party, in Pompey and his adherents, the deadliest animosity against their opponents. What he found among his friends he might well anticipate among his foes; but when the victor came with a policy of amnesty and conciliation—not of terror or massacre, the reaction in a high-wrought and sensitive mind may account for an outburst of gratitude.

It is all the more perplexing to find him rejoicing in the assassination of Caesar; but it proves how settled was the principle that was underlying all the changes and compromises of his life ('quam sit difficile sensum in republica praesertim rectum et confirmatum deponere,' Ep. i. 8, 3), and how the ideas of a mistaken patriotism conflicted with personal sympathies and generous impulses in his heart.

The text adopted is that of J. G. Baiter, published in 1866, in the Tauchnitz series. It differs in many

places from that of Orelli, and is founded on a more accurate recension of the Medicean MS., the oldest extant, although not earlier than the eleventh century. The authority of this copy is paramount; it leaves however much that is doubtful, and that invites correction. Among the recent contributions to critical accuracy Baiter quotes most frequently and with most regard (1) the edition of Martyni Laguna, published at Leipsic, 1804. It is mentioned in Orelli's exhaustive preface, p. xxxv.; it is but a fragment of six Books only, the rest having been destroyed in a fire. (2) The 'Emendationes Hauniae' of A. S. Wesenberg, 1840. (3) Two critical lectures at Leyden in 1860 by H. A. Kleyn.

For commentary and explanation I have used the editions of Manutius, of Verburgius (which contains the notes of Graevius and Gronovius), of Schutz and Billerbeck.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

M. . . . . The Codex Mediceus.
O. . . . . Orelli.
B. . . . . Baiter.
Sch. . . . . Schutz.
M. Lag. . . . Martyni Laguna.

The references to Forsyth's 'Life of Cicero' are made to the 8vo edition.

1

M. TULLII CICERONIS EPISTOLARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

AD P. LENTULUM.

I.

Scripta est epistola Romae Idibus Ianuariis a. u. c. 698; a. C. 56.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satis facio omnibus, mihi ipse numquam satis facio; tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum, ut, quia tu nisi perfecta re de me non conquiesti, ego, quia non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. in causa haec sunt: Hammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat; res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. regis causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt; senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia conprobat.

2. Pompeium et hortari et orare, etiam liberius accusare et monere, ut magnam infamiam fugiat,

non desistimus; sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus relinquit locum: nam cum in sermone cotidiano, tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam, ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam nec gravitate nec studio nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis: is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. quod dat, accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam retulit, ab eo deduci non potest.

3. Res ante Idus acta sic est—nam haec Idibus mane scripsi —: Hortensii et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu — teneri enim res aliter non potest —, sed ex illo senatus consulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut regem reducas, quod commodo rei publicae facere possis; ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tris legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium; censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sint; Bibulus tris legatos, ex iis, qui privati sunt. huic adsentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcatium, qui, Lupo referente, Pompeio decernit, et Afranium, qui adsentitur Volcatio. quae res auget suspitionem Pompeii voluntatis, animadvertebatur Pompeii familiaris adsentiri Volcatio. laboratur vehementer; inclinata res est: Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio omniumque Pompeii familiarum studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut Pompeius cupere videatur; cui qui nolunt, idem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici.

4. Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod tibi debemus; gratiam autem nostram

exstinguit hominum suspitio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. ut in rebus multo ante, quam profectus es, ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac domesticis Pompeii clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. nostram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. si esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.

II.

Scr. Romae a. d. XVI. Kal. Februarias a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Idibus Ianuariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis et Caninii tribuni pl. eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem permovere. itaque postridie placuit, ut breviter sententias diceremus; videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas esse senatus, quod cum dicendo, tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perspexeram. itaque cum sententia prima Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent, secunda Hortensii, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres, tertia Volcatii, ut Pompeius reduceret, postulatum est, ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. quatenus de religione dicebat, cui quidem rei iam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo adsensum est; de tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia.

2. Proxima erat Hortensii sententia, cum Lupus, tribunus pl., quod ipse de Pompeio retulisset, intendere coepit, ante se oportere discessionem facere

quam consules. eius orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est; erat enim et iniqua et nova; consules neque concedebant neque valde repugnabant, diem consumi volebant; id quod est factum: perspiciebant enim in Hortensii sententiam multis partibus plures ituros, quamquam aperte Volcatio adsentirentur. multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum ad consulibus invitis; nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt.

3. Hac controversia usque ad noctem ducta senatus dimissus est. ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cenavi nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum quam umquam antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere: quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspitione cupiditatis; cum autem eius familiaris omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod iam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam iam pridem a certis hominibus, non invito rege ipso consiliariisque eius, esse corruptam.

4. Haec scripsi a. d. XVI. Kal. Februarias ante lucem: eo die senatus erat futurus. nos in senatu, quem ad modum spero, dignitatem nostram, ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate, retinebimus; quod ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti, ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis aut salvis legibus aut denique sine vi posset. de his rebus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit; cui cum Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta: eam ad te missam esse arbitror. de ceteris rebus, quicquid erit actum, scribam ad te et, ut quam rectissime agatur, omni mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo.

III.

Scr. Romae mense Ianuario a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. is cum antea semper et suo splendore et nostra ceterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit, tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore.

2. Quae ne spes eum fallat, vehementer rogo te commendoque tibi eius omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam, in primisque ut, quae T. Ampius de eius re decrevit, ea conprobes, omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes, ut intellegat meam commendationem non volgarem fuisse.

IV.

Scr. Romae mense Ianuario a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. d. XVI. Kal. Febr. cum in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod iam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis pridie eius diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum, sententia Volcatii, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis; causam enim frequenti senatu non magna varietate magnaque invidia eorum, qui a te causam regiam alio traferebant, obtinebamus. eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustiorem, paene etiam amicum; Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem

ullam ante comitia esse laturos. senatus haberi ante Kalendas Februarias per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest, neque mense Februario toto nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus.

2. Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impediret, quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandream vellet ire. dignitatis autem tuae nemo est quin existimet habitam esse rationem ab senatu; nemo est enim, qui nesciat, quo minus discessio fieret per adversarios tuos esse factum: qui nunc populi nomine, re autem vera sceleratissimo latrocinio, si quae conabuntur agere, satis mihi provisum est, ut ne quid salvis auspiciis aut legibus aut etiam sine vi agere possent.

3. Ego neque de meo studio neque de non nullorum iniuria scribendum mihi esse arbitror: quid enim aut me ostentem, qui, si vitam pro tua dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar meritorum tuorum adsecutus, aut de aliorum iniuriis querar? quod sine summo dolore facere non possum. ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim inbecillitate magistratuum, praestare nihil possum: vi excepta possum confirmare, te et senatus et populi Romani summo studio amplitudinem tuam retenturum.

V. a.

Scr. Romae a. d. III. Non. Februar. a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Tametsi mihi nihil fuit optatius quam ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a ceteris omnibus, quam

gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer, tamen adficior summo dolore eius modi tempora post tuam profectionem consecuta esse, ut et meam et ceterorum erga te fidem et benevolentiam absens experirere: te videre et sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate, quam ego in mea salute sum expertus, ex tuis litteris intellexi.

2. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. sed tamen in eius *modi* perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis quam perfidiam timemus; et Catoni quidem, quoquo modo se res habet, profecto resistimus.

3. De Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti tuisque praesentibus cumulate satis facturum; sed vereor, ne aut eripiatur [causa regia] nobis aut deseratur, quorum utrum minus velim, non facile possum existimare. sed, si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio nec mihi displicebat: ut neque iacere rem pateremur nec nobis repugnantibus ad eum deferri, ad quem prope iam delata existimatur. a nobis agentur omnia diligenter, ut neque, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus, nec, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur.

4. Tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi est omnem amplitudinem et dignitatem tuam in virtute atque in rebus gestis tuis atque in tua gravitate positam existimare: si quid ex iis rebus, quas tibi fortuna largita est, non nullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id maiori illis fraudi quam tibi futurum. a me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus

et agendi et cogitandi. utor ad omnia Q. Selicio; neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis neque fide maiore esse iudico neque amantiorem tui.

V. b.

Scr. Romae mense Februario a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Hic quae agantur quaeque acta sint, ea te et litteris multorum et nuntiis cognosse arbitror: quae autem posita sunt in coniectura quaeque videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere. postea quam Pompeius et apud populum a. d. VIII. Idus Februarias, cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convitioque iactatus est in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe nimium magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus; itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est—nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus nisi id, quod per eandem religionem dari alteri non potest —, videtur ab illo plane esse deposita.

2. Nunc id speramus idque molimur, ut rex, cum intellegat sese, quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, adsequi non posse et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abiectum fore, proficiscatur ad te; quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paulum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. sed nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem: nos tamen nihil, quod ad eam rem pertineat, praetermittimus. ceteris iniuriis, quae propositae sunt a Catone, facile, ut spero, resistemus. amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse video praeter Hortensium et Lucullum; ceteri sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimu-

lanter irati. tu fac animo forti magnoque sis speresque fore, ut fracto impetu levissimi hominis tuam pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

VI.

Scr. Romae mense Februario a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Quae gerantur, accipies ex Pollione, qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum, sed praefuit. me in summo dolore, quem in tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor fore, ut infringatur hominum inprobitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum et ipsa die, quae debilitat cogitationes et inimicorum et proditorum tuorum.

2. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis; nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas quam mea adflicta est, tamen est tanta similitudo, ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem umquam timenda duxisti. sed praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus: inlustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria. a me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta; non fallam opinionem tuam.

VII.

Scr. Romae mense Maio a. u. c. 698.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse, quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus

rebus et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias: quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluisti; alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum diiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime conloquar. quod si rarius fiet quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae, quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere: quotiens mihi certorum hominum potestas erit, quibus recte dem, non praetermittam.

2. Quod scire vis, qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis: unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque re perspecta et cognita scribere, vehementer quosdam homines et eos maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae, simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem, ut, quos tu rei publicae causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent, quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae quam laudis inimici. quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilium et fide et animo singulari. nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae.

3. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studii erga te aut officii aut amici animi esse testis: etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime non solum *a* me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse; cui quidem litterae tuae, quas proxime

miseras, quod facile intellexerim, pericundae fuerunt. mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum, sed etiam admirabilis visa est: virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, non nihil suspicantem propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis te ab se abalienatum, illa epistola retinuisti; qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspitiosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero lectis tuis litteris perspectus est a me toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare.

4. Qua re ea, quae scribam, sic habeto, me cum illo re saepe communicata de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatus consultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis [Alexandrini] tibi adempta sit, eaque, quae de ea scripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandream atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide aut aliquo propinquo loco rege conlocato te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandream, ut, eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolemaeus redeat in regnum; ita fore, ut et per te restituatur, quem ad modum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt.

5. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos videremus: si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus,

omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. qua re quid adsequi possis, non tam facile est nobis quam tibi, cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, iudicare. nos quidem hoc sentimus, si exploratum tibi sit posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; si dubium sit, non esse conandum. illud tibi adfirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore ut absens a multis, cum redieris, ab omnibus conlaudere. offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video; sed ego te, ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu homines esse facturos.

6. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam atque imperium tuum pecunias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares; eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae, ut illius reditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel neglegendo impedires. in hac ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat, tu facillime optimeque perspicies; quid nobis placuisset, ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere.

7. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et inbecillitate Clodii gratularis, minime miramur te tuis ut egregium artificem praeclaris operibus laetari: quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas—graviore enim verbo uti non libet—, qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt; quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturnaque sententia prope iam esse

depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus; sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in re publica nostra delectet, quam splendor offendat.

8. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo, quia non solum temporibus his, quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatique favisti, simulque quod video, non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae; in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi, quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam; multum enim interest, utrum laus inminuatur an salus deseratur. me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est; curasti enim, ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri quam demptum de fortuna videretur.

9. Te vero emoneo cum beneficiis tuis, tum amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memoria consulatus tui: haec profecto vides quanto expressiora quantoque inlustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. quamquam te ita gerere volo quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt, ut haec multo ante meditere, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas sentiasque—id quod quia semper

sperasti, non dubito quin adeptus intellegas—te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem, ut considerares, in omni reliqua vita quibus crederes, quos caveres.

10. Quod scribis te velle scire, qui sit rei publicae status, summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar; nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent. itaque perpaucis adversantibus omnia, quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se adsequi arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt; nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati et, ne lege Sempronia succederetur, facile perfectum est. quod eo ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic re publicae non delectat: scribo tamen, ut te admoneam, quod ipse, litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiendo tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, tu *ut* tuis rebus integris discas neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate neque dignitatis sine salute.

11. Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam speroque et opto nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum eximia spe summae virtutis adulescentem cum ceteris artibus, quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias; nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos, et quia tuus et quia te dignus est filius et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit, in primis amamus carumque habemus.

VIII.

Scr. Romae mense Ianuario a. u. c. 699; a. C. 55.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. De omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertinent, quid actum, quid constitutum sit, quid Pompeius susceperit, optime ex M. Plaetorio cognosces, qui non solum interfuit his rebus, sed etiam praefuit neque ullum officium erga te hominis amantissimi, prudentissimi, diligentissimi praetermisit. ex eodem de toto statu rerum communium cognosces; quae quales sint, non facile est scribere: sunt quidem certe in amicorum nostrorum potestate, atque ita, ut nullam mutationem umquam hac hominum aetate habitura res esse videatur.

2. Ego quidem, ut debeo et ut tute mihi praecepisti et ut me pietas utilitasque cogit, me ad eius rationes adiungo, quem tu in meis rationibus tibi esse adiungendum putasti; sed te non praeterit, quam sit difficile sensum in re publica praesertim rectum et confirmatum deponere. verum tamen ipse me conformo ad eius voluntatem, *a* quo honeste dissentire non possum, neque id facio, ut forsitan quibusdam videar, simulatione; tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille volt, ea mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur. neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent ne adversarii quidem eius, si, cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent.

3. Me quidem etiam illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quae Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet, ad nostra me

studia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, si mihi per eiusdem amicitiam licebit. quae enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in re publica capessenda, ea sublata tota sunt, nec mihi magis quam omnibus; nam aut adsentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut frustra dissentiendum.

4. Haec ego ad te ob eam causam maximę scribo, ut iam de tua quoque ratione meditere. commutata tota ratio est senatus, iudiciorum, rei totius publicae; otium nobis exoptandum est, quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, praestaturi videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis senatoris nihil est quod cogitemus: amissa culpa est eorum, qui a senatu et ordinem coniunctissimum et hominem clarissimum abalienarunt.

5. Sed ut ad ea, quae coniunctiora rebus tuis sunt, revertar: Pompeium tibi valde amicum esse cognovi et eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia, quae voles, obtinebis, quibus in rebus me sibi ille adfixum habebit neque a me ulla res, quae ad te pertineat, neglegetur; neque enim verebor ne sim ei molestus, cui iucundum erit etiam propter se ipsum, cum me esse gratum videbit.

6. Tu velim tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam, quae ad te pertineat, quae mihi non carior sit quam meae res omnes; idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihimet ipse satis facere possum, re quidem ipsa ideo mihi non satis facio, quod nullam partem tuorum meritorum non modo referenda sed ne cogitanda quidem gratia consequi possum.

7. Rem te valde bene gessisse rumor erat; ex-

spectabantur litterae tuae, de quibus eramus iam cum Pompeio locuti, quae si erunt adlatae, nostrum studium exstabit in conveniendis magistratibus et senatoribus; ceteraque, quae ad te pertinebunt, cum etiam plus contenderimus quam possumus, minus tamen faciemus quam debemus.

IX.

Scr. Romae mense Octobri exeunte a. u. c. 700; a. C. 54.

M. CICERO S. D. *P.* LENTULO IMP.

1. Periucundae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, quibus intellexi te perspicere meam in te pietatem; quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea, quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt; tibi autem multo notior atque inlustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni, quo diiuncti fuimus, et una et Romae fuissemus.

2. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum quodque et in primis potes et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sententiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque administratione rei publicae floruissemus: de qua ostendam equidem paulo post, qui sit meus sensus et status, et rescribam tibi ad ea, quae quaeris; sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo et tu me consiliario fortasse non inperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe, usus esses:—quamquam tua quidem causa te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut

debeo, laetor:—sed certe qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. in eis vero ulciscendis, quos tibi partim inimicos esse intellegis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissem: quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus in te potissimum fractam illam et debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese; ea est enim conatus, quibus patefactis nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit.

3. Te autem etsi mallem in meis rebus expertum quam etiam in tuis, tamen in molestia gaudeo eam fidem cognosse hominum non ita magna mercede, quam ego maximo dolore cognoram; de qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea, quae quaeris.

4. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia, teque id non reprehendere adscribis; Vatinium autem scire te velle ostendis quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paulo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam necesse est. ego me, Lentule, initio rerum atque actionum tuarum non solum meis sed etiam rei publicae restitutum putabam et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quendam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, rei publicae, quae te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset, eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantum modo communi officio civium, non alicui erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitissem.

hac me mente fuisse et senatus ex me te consule audivit et tu in nostris sermonibus conlocutionibusque ipse vidisti.

5. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis multis rebus meus offendebatur animus, cum te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate aut occulta non nullorum odia aut obscura in me studia cernebam; nam neque de monimentis meis ab iis adiutus es, a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria, qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus; neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus, quae quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate senatus sarciendis eam voluntatem, quam exspectaram, praestiterunt. quae cum viderem —neque erant obscura —, non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant, quam erant illa grata, quae fecerant.

6. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum, te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste, debebam et eum non solum beneficio, sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam, tamen non reputans, quid ille vellet, in omnibus meis sententiis de re publica pristinis permanebam.

7. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum, ut laudaret P. Sestium, introisset in urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius me fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi me eam Bibuli fortunam, quam ille adflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre; dixique eodem teste alio loco, eosdem esse, qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent et qui me coëgissent: tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus; in qua omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum.

8. Neque vero hac in causa modo, sed constanter saepe in senatu: quin etiam Marcellino et Philippo consulibus Nonis Aprilibus mihi est senatus adsensus, ut de agro Campano frequenti senatu Idibus Maiis referretur. num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? hac a me sententia dicta magnus animorum motus est factus cum eorum, quorum oportuit, tum illorum etiam, quorum numquam putaram.

9. Nam hoc senatus consulto in meam sententiam facto Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset ab eoque in me esset incensus. sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat; quod ego, cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus, quam Luca discesserat, convenisset, 'te' inquit 'ipsum cupio; nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spopondisti.' quid multa? questus est graviter; sua merita commemoravit; quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit seque, quae de mea salute egisset, voluntate Caesaris egisse ipsum meum fratrem testatus est; cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri.

10. Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset et cum tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium

misisset, ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum reditum reservarem, conlegi ipse me et cum ipsa quasi re publica conlocutus sum, ut mihi tam multa pro se perpesso atque perfuncto concederet, ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos animum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque, quem bonem civem semper habuisset, bonum virum esse pateretur. in illis autem meis actionibus sententiisque omnibus, quae Pompeium videbantur offendere, certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me; qui cum illa sentirent in re publica, quae ego agebam, semperque sensissent, me tamen non satis facere Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum gaudere se aiebant. erat hoc mihi dolendum, sed multo illud magis, quod inimicum meum—meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum, otii, patriae, bonorum omnium—sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent, quem ego funditus perdidi, sed certe ut facere se arbitrarentur. hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationibusque subductis summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam.

11. Ego, si ab improbis et perditis civibus rem publicam teneri viderem, sicut et meis temporibus scimus et non nullis aliis accidisse, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem conpulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. cum autem in re publica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset, vir is, qui hanc potentiam et gloriam

maximis in rem publicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adulescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adiutor etiam exstitissem, cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum, me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paulum me inmutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque optime meriti dignitatem adgregassem.

12. In hac sententia conplectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in coniuncta et causa et dignitate. hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Quinto fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et, ne fieret, vehementer recusare. gravissime autem me in hanc mentem inpulit et Pompeii fides, quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei, quam Pompeio. erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate, quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus, quales in re publica principes essent, talis reliquos solere esse civis. tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta iam ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembr. tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis; idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium.

13. Postea, cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres neque res publica consules haberet, sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum quasi certaminis causa in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem; quo in discrimine cum mirifica senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensio in me tuendo exstitisset, non dicam, quid acciderit—multorum est enim et varia culpa —, tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum sed duces defuisse. in quo, ut iam sit in iis culpa, qui me non defenderunt, non minor est in iis, qui reliquerunt, et, si accusandi sunt, si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi, si qui se timere simularunt: illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos civis et a me conservatos et me servare cupientis, spoliatos ducibus servis armatis obici noluerim declararique maluerim, quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, cum adflictum excitare potuissent; quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti.

14. Qua in causa—non modo non negabo, sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter—usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus fortioribus in me restituendo, quam fuerant idem in tenendo; qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus ad auctoritatem eius

ordinis adiungeretur, nulli inprobo civi locus ad rem publicam violandam esse potuisset.

15. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta: primum illa furia muliebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam deam quam tris sorores, inpunitatem est illorum sententiis adsecutus, qui, cum tribunus pl. poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de re publica sustulerunt; idemque postea non meum monumentum non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio mea fuerat —, monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum; sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quem ad modum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus imperfectum ac rude reliquerunt.

16. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum, sed etiam inimicorum meorum, qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo Q. Metello L. f. quondam falsam opinionem acceperunt, quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse; [est vero probandum,] qui et summa voluntate cesserit et egregia animi alacritate afuerit neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse, in quo cum omnis homines tum M. illum Scaurum singularem virum constantia et gravitate superasset! sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur,

de me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, cum res publica maiorem etiam mihi animum, quam umquam habuissem, daret, cum declarasset se non potuisse me uno civi carere; cumque Metellum unius tribuni pl. rogatio, me universa res publica, duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus octo tribunis, referente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus reciperavisset.

17. Neque vero ego mihi postea quicquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo, quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere: tantum enitor, ut neque amicis neque etiam alienioribus opera, consilio, labore desim. hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse, qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis, quibus ornem Caesarem, quasi desciscere me *a* pristina causa. ego autem cum illa sequor, quae paulo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis, de quo coeperam exponere. non offendes eundem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti, qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, *non* numquam postea interruptus, adflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te, totus est nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus; idque non solum fronte atque voltu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ei, qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur, sed etiam sententia saepe iam tabellaque docuerunt.

18. Itaque tota iam sapientium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet; id enim iubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor, tantum con-

tendere in re publica, quantum probare tuis civibus possis; vim neque parenti nec patriae adferre oportere. atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae rei publicae fuisse, quod, cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute, [cumque eum nec persuadendo nec cogendo regi posse vidisset,] cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. mea ratio fuit alia, quod neque desipiente populo nec integra re mihi ad consulendum capesseremne rem publicam inplicatus tenebar; sed laetatus tamen sum, quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. huc accessit commemoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi, quascumque res gereret, tuendus esset; nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis, etiam si in nos non is esset, qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. sic enim te existimare velim, cum a vobis meae salutis auctoribus discesserim, neminem esse, cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear, sed etiam gaudeam.

19. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea, quae a me de Vatinio et de Crasso requiris; nam de Appio quod scribis sicuti de Caesare te non reprehendere, gaudeo tibi consilium probari meum. de Vatinio autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium, statim ut ille praetor est factus, cum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis. post autem Caesaris, ut illum defenderem, mira contentio est consecuta. cur autem laudarim, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam, cum veneris: tametsi possum

vel absenti; recordare enim, quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. nec hoc pertimueris; nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur idem. sed tamen defendendi Vatinii fuit etiam ille stimulus, de quo in iudicio, cum illum defenderem, dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi:

> ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam
> continuo. si quando illa dicet 'Phaedriam
> intro mittamus comissatum,' Pamphilam
> cantatum provocemus. si laudabit haec
> illius formam, tu huius contra; denique
> par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.

sic petivi a iudicibus ut, quoniam quidam nobiles homines et de me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum meque inspectante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familiariter atque hilare amplexarentur, quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium, in quo possem illorum animos mediocriter lacessitus leviter repungere; neque solum dixi, sed etiam saepe facio deis hominibusque adprobantibus. habes de Vatinio, cognosce de Crasso.

20. Ego, cum mihi cum illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnis gravissimas iniurias communis concordiae causa voluntaria quadam oblivione contriveram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabinii, quem proximis [superioribus] diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem; sed, cum me disputantem, non lacessentem laesisset, exarsi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia — nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset —, sed, cum inclusum illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar,

residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente adparuit. quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines, et eidem illi, quos saepe *nutu* significationeque appello, cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea meque tum denique sibi esse visum rei publicae, qualis fuissem, restitutum, cumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset, gaudere se dicebant mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent, numquam amicos futuros: quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur cumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione adfectum ostenderet, habui non temporum solum rationem meorum, sed etiam naturae, Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis Laribus in provinciam est profectus; nam, cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. quam ob rem eius causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat.

21. Accepisti, quibus rebus adductus quamque rem causamque defenderim, quique meus in re publica sit pro mea parte capessenda status; de quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent: nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes neque delendum, etiam si id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum nec permanendum in una sententia conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus mutatis, sed temporibus adsentiendum. numquam enim *in* praestantibus in re publica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio, sed, ut in navigando

tempestati obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas, cum vero id possis mutata velificatione adsequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum, quem ceperis, potius quam eo commutato quo velis tamen pervenire, sic, cum omnibus nobis in administranda re publica propositum esse debeat id, quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. quam ob rem, ut paulo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in re publica non alius essem atque nunc sum: cum vero in hunc sensum et adliciar beneficiis hominum et conpellar iniuriis, facile patior ea me de re publica sentire ac dicere, quae maxime cum mihi tum etiam rei publicae rationibus putem conducere. apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus, frater meus, legatus est Caesaris et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit, quod ille non ita inlustri gratia exceperit, ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. itaque eius omni et gratia, quae summa est, et opibus, quas intellegis esse maximas, sic fruor ut meis; nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere, nisi cum praesidiis iis, quae semper habui, nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam coniunxissem.

22. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem; novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae, novi animum cum mihi amicissimum, tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum, contraque cum magnum et excelsum, tum etiam apertum et simplicem. vidi ego quosdam in te talis, qualis tu eosdem in me videre potuisti: quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. sed, quocumque tempore mihi potestas

praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum; tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis, neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita, quam ut cotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23. Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discessum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae; ne pertimescas. scripsi etiam—nam me iam ab orationibus diiungo fere referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me maxime sicut iam a prima adulescentia delectarunt—scripsi igitur Aristotelio more, quem ad modum quidem volui, tris libros [in disputatione ac dialogo] 'de oratore,' quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutilis; abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis et omnem antiquorum et Aristoteliam et Isocratiam rationem oratoriam conplectuntur. scripsi etiam versibus tris libros de temporibus meis, quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem —sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis —, sed [quia] verebar non eos, qui se laesos arbitrarentur—etenim id feci parce et molliter —, sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene de me meritos omnis nominare; quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem, cui recte committam, invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero: quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum, qui haec semper amasti, libentissime conferemus.

24. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis

quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt, ut me nolim admoneri, rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possim. quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis te priore aestate, quod morbo inpeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum, ut conficias, id scito esse eius modi, ut frater meus vere existimet adiuncto isto fundo patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiorem et quam saepissime facias existumesque neminem cuiquam neque cariorem neque iucundiorem umquam fuisse quam te mihi idque me non modo ut tu sentias, sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intellegat, esse facturum.

25. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam, sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortiturum esse cum collega provincias; si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibique successurum; legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse; se, quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset. ego, quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat, nescio; varias esse opiniones intellego: sunt qui putant posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur; sunt etiam, qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse qui provinciae praesit. mihi non tam de iure certum est—quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est—quam illud, ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, libertatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere te sine ulla mora provinciam successori concedere, praesertim cum sine suspitione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupidita-

tem refutare. ego utrumque meum puto esse, et quid sentiam ostendere et quod feceris defendere.

26. Scripta iam epistola superiore accepi tuas litteras de publicanis, *in* quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare; facilitate quidem vellem consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis, quem semper ornasti, rem aut voluntatem offenderes. equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere; sed nosti consuetudinem hominum; scis, quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint; tibi tamen sum auctor, ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges: id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae.

X.

Scr. Romae mense Decembri a. u. c. 700; a. C. 54.

M. CICERO S. D. L. VALERIO IURISCONSULTO.

Cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer nescio, praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter; sed tu velim desinas iam nostris litteris uti et nos aliquando revisas et ibi malis esse, ubi aliquo numero sis, quam istic, ubi solus sapere videare: quamquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. sed iam cupio tecum coram iocari: qua re fac ut quam primum venias neque in Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus salvum venisse gaudere; nam illo si veneris, tamquam Ulixes cognosces tuorum neminem.

M. TULLII CICERONIS EPISTOLARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

AD C. CURIONEM.

I.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701; a. C. 53.

M. CICERO S. D. *C.* CURIONI.

1. Quamquam me nomine neglegentiae suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit accusari abs te officium meum quam iucundum requiri, praesertim cum, in quo accusabar, culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras, prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum. equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui litteras non dederim; etenim quis est tam *in* scribendo inpiger quam ego? a te vero bis terve summum et eas perbrevis accepi. qua re, si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine; sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis. sed de litteris hactenus; non enim vereor ne non scribendo te expleam, prae-

sertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere.

2. Ego te afuisse tam diu a nobis et dolui, quod carui fructu iucundissimae consuetudinis, et laetor, quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus quodque in omnibus tuis rebus meis optatis fortuna respondit. breve est, quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit: tanta est exspectatio vel animi vel ingenii tui, ut ego te obsecrare obtestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare, ut, quam exspectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere ac tueri possis; et quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio, te rogo ut memineris, quantaecumque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, ni meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. qua re hoc animo in nos esse debebis, ut aetas nostra iam ingravescens in amore atque in adulescentia tua conquiescat.

II.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei, patre tuo, clarissimo viro: qui cum suis laudibus, tum vero te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset ut te ante videret, quam a vita discederet; sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. tibi patrimonium dei fortunent. me certe habebis, cui et carus aeque sis et iucundus ac fuisti patri.

III.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Rupae studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine, sed nec mihi placuit nec cuiquam tuorum quicquam te absente fieri, quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum: equidem quid sentiam, aut scribam ad te postea pluribus aut, ne ad ea meditere, inparatum te offendam coramque contra istam rationem meam dicam, ut aut te in meam sententiam adducam aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam, quid senserim, ut, si quando—quod nolim — displicere tibi tuum consilium coeperit, possis meum recordari. brevi tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere, ut iis bonis, quae tibi natura, studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia, quae sunt amplissima in re publica, consequi possis quam muneribus: quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur—est enim copiarum, non virtutis—neque quisquam est quin satietate iam defessus sit.

2. Sed aliter atque ostenderam facio, qui ingrediar ad explicandam rationem sententiae meae; qua re omnem hanc disputationem in adventum tuum differo. summa scito in exspectatione te esse eaque a te exspectari, quae a summa virtute summoque ingenio exspectanda sunt; ad quae si es, ut debes, paratus— quod ita esse confido —, plurimis maximisque muneribus et nos amicos et civis tuos universos et rem publicam adficies. illud cognosces profecto, mihi te neque cariorem neque iucundiorem esse quemquam.

IV.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentis, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset: tu huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas: tuarum enim rerum domesticos habes et scriptores et nuntios; in meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. reliqua sunt epistolarum genera duo, quae me magno opere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave. utro me minus deceat uti, non intellego. iocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. an gravius aliquid scribam? quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? atqui in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea, *quae sentio*, *neque ea*, quae non sentio, velim scribere.

2. Quam ob rem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula, qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor; est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam exspectatio, quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. in hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem, et hoc, quicquid attigi, non feci inflammandi tui causa, sed testificandi amoris mei.

V.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Haec negotia quo modo se habeant, ne epistola quidem narrare audeo. tibi, etsi, ubicumque es, ut scripsi ad te ante, in eadem es navi, tamen, quod abes, gratulor, vel quia non vides ea, quae nos, vel quod excelso et inlustri loco sita est laus tua in plurimorum et sociorum et civium conspectu; quae ad nos nec obscuro nec vario sermone, sed et clarissima et una omnium voce perfertur.

2. Unum illud nescio, gratulerne tibi an timeam, quod mirabilis est exspectatio reditus tui, non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat, sed mehercule ne, cum veneris, non habeas iam, quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata *ac* iam prope exstincta. sed haec ipsa nescio rectene sint litteris commissa: qua re cetera cognosces ex aliis. tu tamen, sive habes aliquam spem de re publica sive desperas, ea para, meditare, cogita, quae esse in eo civi ac viro debent, qui sit rem publicam adflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem et libertatem vindicaturus.

VI.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 701.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Nondum erat auditum te ad Italiam adventare, cum Sex. Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te litteris misi; sed tamen cum adpropinquare tuus adventus putaretur et te iam ex Asia Romam

versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit, ut non vereremur ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri litteras magno opere vellemus. ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio, tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent, verecundius a te, si quae magna res mihi petenda esset, contenderem; grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id, quod petat, exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur.

2. Sed quia tua in me vel nota omnibus vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt estque animi ingenui, cui multum debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere, non dubitavi id a te per litteras petere, quod mihi omnium esset maximum maximeque necessarium; neque enim sum veritus ne sustinere tua in me vel innumerabilia non possem, cum praesertim confiderem nullam esse gratiam tantam, quam non vel capere animus meus in accipiendo vel in remunerando cumulare atque inlustrare posset.

3. Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi statuique in eo me non officii solum fructum sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere; neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse umquam puto, quantae mihi est honos eius, in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. huic te unum tanto adiumento esse, si volueris, posse intellego, ut nihil sit praeterea nobis requirendum. habemus haec omnia: bonorum studium conciliatum ex tribunatu propter nostram, ut spero te intellegere, causam; volgi ac multitudinis

propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae; iuventutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam; nostram suffragationem, si minus potentem, at probatam tamen et iustam et debitam et propterea fortasse etiam gratiosam.

4. Dux nobis et auctor opus est et eorum ventorum, quos proposui, moderator quidam et quasi gubernator; qui si ex omnibus unus optandus esset, quem tecum conferre possemus, non haberemus. quam ob rem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum vel ex hoc ipso, quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem, existimare potes, si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas, hoc a te peto, ut subvenias huic meae sollicitudini et huic meae laudi vel, ut verius dicam, prope saluti tuum studium dices. de ipso T. Annio tantum tibi polliceor, te maioris animi, gravitatis, constantiae benevolentiaeque erga te, si conplecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem; mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adiunxeris, ut eundem te facile adgnoscam fuisse in laude mea, qui fueris in salute.

5. Ego, ni te videre scirem, cum ad te haec scriberem, quantum officii sustinerem, quanto opere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione, sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem: nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado. unum hoc sic habeto: si a te hanc rem impetraro, me paene plus tibi quam ipsi Miloni debiturum; non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adiutus, quam pietas erit in referenda gratia iucunda; eam autem unius tui studio me adsequi posse confido.

VII.

Scr. in castris ad Pindenissum a. d. XIV. Kal. Ianuar. a. u. c. 703; a. C. 51.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. C. CURIONI TRIB. PL.

1. Sera gratulatio reprehendi non solet, praesertim si nulla neglegentia praetermissa est; longe enim absum, audio sero. sed tibi et gratulor et, ut sempiternae laudi tibi sit iste tribunatus, exopto teque hortor, ut omnia gubernes et moderere prudentia tua, ne te auferant aliorum consilia: nemo est qui tibi sapientius suadere possit te ipso; numquam labere, si te audies. non scribo hoc temere; cui scribam, video; novi animum, novi consilium tuum; non vereor ne quid timide, ne quid stulte facias, si ea defendes, quae ipse recta esse senties.

2. Quod *in* rei publicae tempus non incideris, sed veneris—iudicio enim tuo, non casu in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum —, profecto vides; quanta vis in re publica temporum sit, quanta varietas rerum, quam incerti exitus, quam flexibiles hominum voluntates, quid insidiarum, quid vanitatis in vita, non dubito quin cogites. sed, amabo te, cura et cogita—nihil novi, sed illud idem, quod initio scripsi: tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera: alteri qui melius consilium dare possit quam tu, non facile inveniri potest; tibi vero ipsi certe nemo melius dabit. di inmortales! cur ego *non* adsum vel spectator laudum tuarum vel particeps vel socius vel minister consiliorum? tametsi hoc minime tibi deest, sed tamen efficeret magnitudo et vis amoris mei, consilio te ut possem iuvare.

3. Scribam ad te plura alias; paucis enim diebus

eram missurus domesticos tabellarios, ut, quoniam sane feliciter et ex mea sententia rem publicam gessimus, unis litteris totius aestatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem. de sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim, quamque difficili in re atque causa, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas Thrasoni, liberto tuo, dedi.

4. Te, mi Curio, pro tua incredibili in me benevolentia meaque item in te singulari rogo atque oro, ne patiare quicquam mihi ad hanc provincialem molestiam temporis prorogari. praesens tecum egi, cum te tribunum pl. isto anno fore non putarem, itemque petivi saepe per litteras, sed tum quasi a senatore nobilissimo, † tamen adulescente et gratiosissimo, nunc a tribuno pl. et a Curione tribuno, non ut decernatur aliquid novi—quod solet esse difficilius —, sed ut ne quid novi decernatur, ut et senati consultum et leges defendas eaque mihi condicio maneat, qua profectus sum. hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

VIII.

Scr. Athenis pridie Nonas Quintiles a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. M. CAELIO.

1. Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum conpositiones, ut vadimonia dilata et Chresti conpilationem mitteres et ea, quae nobis, cum Romae sumus, narrare nemo audeat? vide, quantum tibi meo iudicio tribuam! nec mehercule iniuria: πολιτικώτερον enim te adhuc neminem cognovi. ne illa quidem curo mihi scribas, quae maximis in rebus rei publicae geruntur cotidie, nisi quid

ad me ipsum pertinebit: scribent alii; multi nuntiabunt; perferet multa etiam ipse rumor. qua re ego nec praeterita nec praesentia abs te, sed ut ab homine longe in posterum prospiciente futura exspecto, ut, ex tuis litteris cum formam rei publicae viderim, quale aedificium futurum sit, scire possim.

2. Neque tamen adhuc habeo quod te accusem; neque enim fuit quod tu plus providere posses quam quivis nostrum in primisque ego, qui cum Pompeio conpluris dies nullis in aliis nisi de re publica sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt: tantum habeto, civem egregium esse Pompeium et ad omnia, quae providenda sunt in re publica, et animo et consilio paratum. qua re da te homini; conplectetur, mihi crede. iam idem illi et boni et mali cives videntur, qui nobis videri solent.

3. Ego cum Athenis decem ipsos dies fuissem multumque mecum Gallus noster Caninius, proficiscebar inde pridie Nonas Quinctilis, cum hoc ad te litterarum dedi. tibi cum omnia mea commendatissima esse cupio, tum nihil magis quam ne tempus nobis provinciae prorogetur: in eo mihi sunt omnia. quod quando et quo modo et per quos agendum sit, tu optime constitues.

IX.

Scr. in Cilicia mense Octobri a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR. DES.

1. Primum tibi, ut debeo, gratulor laetorque cum praesenti, tum etiam sperata tua dignitate, serius, non neglegentia mea, sed ignoratione rerum omnium: in iis enim sum locis, quo et propter longinquitatem et propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur.

et cum gratulor, tum vero quibus verbis tibi gratias agam non reperio, quod ita factus sis, ut dederis nobis, quem ad modum scripseras ad me, quem semper ridere possemus. itaque cum primum audivi, ego ille ipse factus sum—scis quem dicam—egique omnis illos adulescentis, quos ille actitat. difficile est loqui.

2. Te autem contemplans absentem et quasi tecum cŏram loquerer:

non edepol, quantam rem egeris neque quantum facinus feceris.

quod quia praeter opinionem mihi acciderat, referebam me ad illud:

incredibile hoc factu obicitur.

repente vero 'incessi omnibus laetitiis laetus.' in quo cum obiurgarer, quod nimio gaudio paene desiperem, ita me defendebam:

ego voluptatem animi nimiam . . .

quid quaeris? dum illum rideo, paene sum factus ille.

3. Sed haec pluribus multaque alia et de te et ad te, cum primum ero aliquid nactus otii. te vero, mi Rufe, diligo, quem mihi fortuna dedit amplificatorem dignitatis meae, ultorem non modo inimicorum, sed etiam invidorum meorum, ut eos partim scelerum suorum, partim etiam ineptiarum paeniteret.

X.

Scr. in castris ad Pindenissum a. d. XVII. Kal. Decembr. a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR. DES.

1. Tu vide, quam ad me litterae non perferantur; non enim possum adduci ut abs te, postea quam

aedilis es factus, nullas putem datas, praesertim cum esset tanta res tantae gratulationis, de te, quia quod sperabam, de Hillo—balbus enim sum —, quod non putaram. atqui sic habeto, nullam me epistolam accepisse tuam post comitia ista praeclara, quae me laetitia extulerunt, ex quo vereor ne idem eveniat in meas litteras. equidem numquam domum misi unam epistolam quin esset ad te altera, nec mihi est te iucundius quicquam nec carius.

2. Sed balbi non sumus: ad rem redeamus. ut optasti, ita est: velles enim, ais, tantum modo ut haberem negotii, quod esset ad laureolam satis; Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. ergo ita accidit: nam Parthico bello nuntiato locorum quibusdam angustiis et natura montium fretus ad Amanum exercitum adduxi satis probe ornatum auxiliis et quadam auctoritate apud eos, qui me non norant, nominis nostri. multum est enim in his locis: 'hicine est ille, qui urbem? quem senatus?' nosti cetera. cum venissem ad Amanum, qui mons mihi cum Bibulo communis est, divisus aquarum divertiis, Cassius noster, quod mihi magnae voluptati fuit, feliciter ab Antiochea hostem reiecerat; Bibulus provinciam acceperat.

3. Interea cum meis copiis omnibus vexavi Amaniensis, hostis sempiternos: multi occisi, capti; reliqui dissipati; castella munita inproviso adventu capta et incensa. ita victoria iusta imperator appellatus apud Issum—quo in loco, saepe ut ex te audivi, Clitarchus tibi narravit Dareum ab Alexandro esse superatum —, abduxi exercitum ad infestissimam Ciliciae partem. ibi quintum et vicesimum iam diem aggeribus, vineis, turribus oppugnabam oppidum munitissimum, Pindenissum, tantis opibus tantoque

negotio, ut mihi ad summam gloriam nihil desit nisi nomen oppidi, quod si, ut spero, cepero, tum vero litteras publice mittam.

4. Haec ad te in praesenti scripsi, ut sperares te adsequi id, quod optasses. sed, ut redeam ad Parthos, haec aestas habuit hunc exitum satis felicem: ea, quae sequitur, magno est in timore. qua re, mi Rufe, vigila: primum ut mihi succedatur; sin id erit, ut scribis et ut ego arbitror, spissius, illud, quod facile est, ne quid mihi temporis prorogetur. de re publica, ex tuis litteris, ut antea tibi scripsi, cum praesentia, tum etiam futura magis exspecto. qua re, ut ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas, te vehementer rogo.

XI.

Scr. in provincia pridie Nonas Apriles a. u. c. 704; a. C. 50.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Putarasne umquam accidere posse, ut mihi verba deessent, neque solum ista vestra oratoria, sed haec etiam levia nostratia? desunt autem propter hanc causam, quod mirifice sum sollicitus, quidnam de provinciis decernatur. mirum me desiderium tenet urbis, incredibile meorum atque in primis tui, satietas autem provinciae, vel quia videmur eam famam consecuti, ut non tam accessio quaerenda quam fortuna metuenda sit, vel quia totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui maiora onera in re publica sustinere et possimus et soleamus, vel quia belli magni timor inpendet, quod videmur effugere, si ad constitutam diem decedemus.

2. De pantheris per eos, qui venari solent, agitur

mandatu meo diligenter, sed mira paucitas est et eas, quae sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat; itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. sed tamen sedulo fit, et in primis a Patisco. quicquid erit, tibi erit, sed quid esset plane nesciebamus. mihi mehercule magnae curae est aedilitas tua: ipse dies me admonebat; scripsi enim haec ipsis Megalensibus. tu velim ad me de omni rei publicae statu quam diligentissime perscribas; ea enim certissima putabo, quae ex te cognoro.

XII.

Scr. in Cilicia mense Iunio a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Sollicitus equidem eram de rebus urbanis; ita tumultuosae contiones, ita molestae Quinquatrus adferebantur—nam citeriora nondum audiebamus —; sed tamen nihil me magis sollicitabat quam in his molestiis non me, si quae ridenda essent, ridere tecum: sunt enim multa, sed ea non audeo scribere. illud moleste fero, nihil me adhuc his de rebus habere tuarum litterarum; qua re etsi, cum tu haec leges, ego iam annuum munus confecero, tamen obviae mihi velim sint tuae litterae, quae me erudiant de omni re publica, ne hospes plane veniam. hoc melius quam tu facere nemo potest.

2. Diogenes tuus, homo modestus, a me cum Philone Pessinuntem discessit: iter habebant ab Adiatorige, quem nec benignum nec copiosum cognorant. urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce

vive: omnis peregrinatio—quod ego ab adulescentia iudicavi—obscura et sordida est iis, quorum industria Romae potest inlustris esse. quod cum probe scirem, utinam in sententia permansissem! cum una mehercule ambulatiuncula atque uno sermone nostro omnis fructus provinciae non confero.

3. Spero me integritatis laudem consecutum: non erat minor ex contemnenda quam est ex conservata provincia. 'spem triumphi?' inquis: satis gloriose triumpharam; non essem quidem tam diu in desiderio rerum mihi carissimarum. sed, ut spero, propediem te videbo. tu mihi obviam mitte epistolas te dignas.

XIII.

Scr. Laodiceae mense Maio ineunte a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Raras tuas quidem—fortasse enim non perferuntur —, sed suavis accipio litteras, vel quas proxime acceperam, quam prudentis! quam multi et officii et consilii! etsi omnia sic constitueram mihi agenda, ut tu admonebas, tamen confirmantur nostra consilia, cum sentimus prudentibus fideliterque suadentibus idem videri.

2. Ego Appium—ut saepe tecum locutus sum—valde diligo meque ab eo diligi statim coeptum esse, ut simultatem deposuimus, sensi; nam et honorificus in me consul fuit et suavis amicus et studiosus studiorum etiam meorum. mea vero officia ei non defuisse tu es testis, cui iam κωμικὸς μάρτυς, ut opinor, accedit Phania, et mehercule etiam pluris

eum feci, quod te amari ab eo sensi. iam me Pompeii totum esse scis; Brutum a me amari intellegis. quid est causae, cur mihi non in optatis sit conplecti hominem florentem aetate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis, collegam meum praesertim et in ipsa collegii laude et scientia studiosum mei? haec eo pluribus scripsi, quod *non* nihil significabant tuae litterae subdubitare *te*, qua essem erga illum voluntate. credo te audisse aliquid: falsum est, mihi crede, si quid audisti. genus institutorum et rationum mearum dissimilitudinem non nullam habet cum illius administratione provinciae: ex eo quidam suspicati fortasse sunt, animorum contentione, non opinionum dissensione me ab eo discrepare; nihil autem feci umquam neque dixi, quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem. post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellae deprecatorem me pro illius periculo praebeo.

3. Erat in eadem epistola 'veternus civitatis': gaudebam sane et congelasse nostrum amicum laetabar otio. extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. quid ais? Caesarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putarat praeter me? nam, ita vivam, putavi. di inmortales! quam ego risum nostrum desidero! mihi erat in animo, quoniam iurisdictionem confeceram, civitates locupletaram, publicanis etiam superioris lustri reliqua sine sociorum ulla querela conservaram, privatis summis infimis fueram iucundus, proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maiis et, cum prima aestiva attigissem *rem* militaremque conlocassem, decedere ex senatus consulto. cupio te aedilem videre miroque desiderio me urbs adficit et omnes mei tuque in primis.

XIV.

Scr. Laodiceae mense Februario a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. M. Fadio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor mirificeque eum diligo cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam, tum propter singularem modestiam: eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset res mea. novi ego vos magnos patronos: hominem occidat oportet, qui vestra opera uti velit. sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem: omnia relinques, si me amabis, cum tua opera Fadius uti volet. ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero, in primisque quid agas scire cupio; nam iam diu propter hiemis magnitudinem nihil novi ad nos adferebatur.

XV.

Scr. in Cilicia ineunte mense Sextili a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Non potuit accuratius agi nec prudentius quam est actum a te cum Curione de supplicatione, et hercule confecta res ex sententia mea est, cum celeritate, tum quod is, qui erat iratus, competitor tuus et idem meus, adsensus est ei, qui ornavit res nostras divinis laudibus: qua re scito me sperare ea, quae sequuntur; ad quae tu te para.

2. Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari; nam ea, quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia temperari posse, scio cui tuae epistolae respondeant. quid si meam legas, quam ego tum ex tuis

litteris misi ad Appium? sed quid agas? sic vivitur. quod actum est, di adprobent. spero fore iucundum generum nobis, multumque in eo tua nos humanitas adiuvabit.

3. Res publica me valde sollicitat: faveo Curioni; Caesarem honestum esse cupio; pro Pompeio emori possum: sed tamen ipsa re publica nihil mihi est carius, in qua tu non valde te iactas; districtus enim mihi videris esse, quod et bonus civis et bonus amicus es.

4. Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Caelium praeposui provinciae. 'puerum?' inquis. at quaestorem, at nobilem adulescentem, at omnium fere exemplo; neque erat superiore honore usus, quem praeficerem. Pomptinus multo ante discesserat; a Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat; quem tamen si reliquissem, dicerent iniqui non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquissem. fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos voluisse provinciis praeesse, qui antea non praefuissent; fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. denique nunc sollicitus non sum: si fratrem reliquissem, omnia timerem. postremo non tam mea sponte quam potentissimorum duorum exemplo, qui omnis Cassios Antoniosque conplexi sunt, hominem adulescentem non tam adlicere volui quam alienare nolui. hoc tu meum consilium laudes necesse est; mutari enim non potest.

5. De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras et in actis non erat: tuae res gestae ita notae sunt, ut trans montem Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum. ego, nisi quid me etesiae morabuntur, celeriter, ut spero, vos videbo.

XVI.

Scr. in Cumano mense Aprili a. u. c. 705; a. C. 49.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO.

1. Magno dolore me adfecissent tuae litterae, nisi iam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnis molestias et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum; sed tamen, qua re acciderit ut ex meis superioribus litteris id suspicarere, quod scribis, nescio: quid enim in illis fuit praeter querelam temporum? quae non meum animum magis sollicitum habent quam tuum. nam non eam cognovi aciem ingenii tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre: illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut existimares aut me tam inprovidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem desciscerem, aut tam inconstantem, ut conlectam gratiam florentissimi hominis effunderem a meque ipse deficerem et, quod initio semperque fugi, civili bello interessem.

2. Quod est igitur meum 'triste consilium'? ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines? nosti enim non modo stomachi mei, cuius tu similem quondam habebas, sed etiam oculorum in hominum insolentium indignitate fastidium; accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum nomenque imperii, quo appellor: eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem. sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed iam etiam in voculas malevolorum. quod cum ita esset, nil tamen umquam de profectione nisi vobis adprobantibus cogitavi. sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt; in his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. quod

autem in maritimis facillime sum, moveo non nullis suspitionem velle me navigare; quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium: nam ad bellum quidem qui convenit? praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satis fecisse, ab eo, cui iam satis fieri nullo modo potest.

3. Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti iam ab illo tempore, cum in Cumanum mihi obviam venisti: non enim te celavi sermonem T. Ampii; vidisti, quam abhorrerem ab urbe relinquenda, cum audissem. nonne tibi adfirmavi quidvis me potius perpessurum quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum? quid ergo accidit, cur consilium mutarem? nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem? credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te existimare, me ex his miseriis nihil aliud quaerere nisi ut homines aliquando intellegant me nihil maluisse quam pacem, ea desperata nihil tam fugisse quam arma civilia: huius me constantiae puto fore ut numquam paeniteat. etenim memini in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum Q. Hortensium, quod numquam bello civili interfuisset: hoc nostra laus erit inlustrior, quod illi tribuebatur ignaviae; de nobis id existimari posse non arbitror.

4. Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem fidissime atque amantissime proponuntur; nulla est enim acerbitas, quae non omnibus hac orbis terrarum perturbatione inpendere videatur, quam quidem ego a re publica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones ut caveam, redemissem.

5. Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla res publica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam memoriam nominis mei; sin autem nulla erit,

nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. nam quod rogas ut respiciam generum meum, adulescentem optimum mihique carissimum, an dubitas, qui scias, quanti cum illum tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet? et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tamen oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum vel potius nostrum fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate sua contraxerat, liberum. velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihi ipsi socero non honestos.

6. Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis, neque quicquam astute cogito: si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus; sin autem non erit, in easdem solitudines tu ipse, ut arbitror, venies, in quibus nos consedisse audies. sed ego fortasse vaticinor et haec omnia meliores habebunt exitus: recordor enim desperationes eorum, qui senes erant adulescente me; eos ego fortasse nunc imitor et utor aetatis vitio.

7. Velim ita sit. sed tamen! . . . togam praetextam texi Oppio puto te audisse; nam Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat, sed eum infector moratur. hoc adspersi, ut scires me tamen in stomacho solere ridere. *de* Dolabella, quod scripsi, suadeo videas, tamquam si tua res agatur. extremum illud erit: nos nihil turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus; te tamen oramus, quibuscumque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit.

XVII.

Scr. Tarsi a. d. XVI. Kal. Sextiles a. u. c. 704; a. C. 50.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. SALUSTIO PROQUAEST.

1. Litteras a te mihi stator tuus reddidit Tarsi a. d. XVI. Kal. Sextilis: his ego ordine, ut videris velle, respondebo. de successore meo nihil audivi ne*que* quemquam fore arbitror. quin ad diem decedam, nulla causa est, praesertim sublato metu Parthico. commoraturum me nusquam sane arbitror; Rhodum Ciceronum causa puerorum accessurum puto; neque id tamen certum. ad urbem volo quam primum venire; sed tamen iter meum rei publicae et rerum urbanarum ratio gubernabit. successor tuus non potest ita maturare ullo modo, ut tu me in Asia possis convenire.

2. De rationibus referendis, non erat incommodum te nullam referre, quam tibi scribis a Bibulo fieri potestatem; sed id vix mihi videris per legem Iuliam facere posse, quam Bibulus certa quadam ratione non servat, tibi magno opere servandam censeo.

3. Quod scribis, Apamea praesidium deduci non oportuisse, videbam item ceteros existimare molesteque ferebam de ea re minus commodos sermones malevolorum fuisse: Parthi transierint necne praeter te video dubitare neminem. itaque omnia praesidia, quae magna et firma paraveram, commotus hominum non dubio sermone dimisi.

4. Rationes mei quaestoris nec verum fuit me tibi mittere nec tum erant confectae; eas nos Apameae deponere cogitabamus. de praeda mea praeter quaestores urbanos, id est populum Romanum, teruncium nec attigit nec tacturus est quisquam. Laodiceae

me praedes accepturum arbitror omnis pecuniae publicae, ut et mihi et populo cautum sit sine vecturae periculo. quod scribis ad me de drachumum CCCIↃↃↃ, nihil est quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare: omnis enim pecunia ita tractatur, ut praeda a praefectis, quae autem mihi attributa est, a quaestore curetur.

5. Quod quaeris, quid existimem de legionibus, quae decretae sunt in Syriam, antea dubitabam venturaene essent; nunc mihi non est dubium quin, si antea auditum erit otium esse in Syria, venturae non sint; Marium quidem successorem tarde video esse venturum, propterea quod senatus ita decrevit, ut cum legionibus iret.

6. Uni epistolae respondi; venio ad alteram. petis a me, ut Bibulo te quam diligentissime commendem: in quo mihi voluntas non deest, sed locus esse videtur tecum expostulandi; solus enim tu ex omnibus, qui cum Bibulo sunt, certiorem me numquam fecisti, quam valde Bibuli voluntas a me sine causa abhorreret. permulti enim ad me detulerunt, cum magnus Antiochiae metus esset et magna spes in me atque in exercitu meo, solitum *eum* dicere, quidvis se perpeti malle quam videri eguisse auxilio meo: quod ego officio quaestorio te adductum reticere de praetore tuo non moleste ferebam; quamquam, quem ad modum tractarere, audiebam. ille autem, cum ad Thermum de Parthico bello scriberet, ad me litteram numquam misit, ad quem intellegebat eius belli periculum pertinere. tantum de auguratu filii sui scripsit ad me; in quo ego, misericordia commotus et quod semper amicissimus Bibulo fui, dedi operam ut ei quam humanissime scriberem.

7. Ille si *in* omnis est malevolus—quod numquam

existimavi —, minus offendor in me; sin autem a me est alienior, nihil tibi meae litterae proderunt. nam ad senatum quas Bibulus litteras misit, in iis, quod mihi cum illo erat commune, sibi soli attribuit; se ait curasse ut cum quaestu populi pecunia permutaretur; quod autem meum erat proprium, ut alariis Transpadanis uti *me* negarem, id etiam se populo remisisse scribit; quod vero illius erat solius, id mecum communicat: 'equitibus auxiliariis' inquit 'cum amplius frumenti postularemus.' illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentia ieiuni atque inanis, quod Ariobarzanem, quia senatus per me regem appellavit mihique commendavit, iste in litteris non regem, sed regis Ariobarzanis filium appellat. hoc animo qui sunt, deteriores fiunt rogati. sed tibi morem gessi; litteras ad eum scripsi, quas cum acceperis, facies quod voles.

XVIII.

Scr. Laodiceae ineunte mense Maio a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. Q. THERMO PROPRAET.

1. Officium meum erga Rhodonem ceteraque mea studia, quae tibi ac tuis praestiti, tibi homini gratissimo grata esse vehementer gaudeo, mihique scito in dies maiori curae esse dignitatem tuam, quae quidem a te ipso integritate et clementia tua sic amplificata est, ut nihil addi posse videatur.

2. Sed mihi magis magisque cotidie de rationibus tuis cogitanti placet illud meum consilium, quod initio Aristoni nostro, ut ad me venit, ostendi, gravis te suscepturum inimicitias, si adulescens potens et nobilis a te ignominia adfectus esset. et hercule

sine dubio erit ignominia; habes enim neminem honoris gradu superiorem. ille autem, ut omittam nobilitatem, hoc ipso vincit viros optimos hominesque innocentissimos, legatos tuos, quod et quaestor est et quaestor tuus. nocere tibi iratum neminem posse perspicio, sed tamen tris fratres summo loco natos, promptos, non indisertos, te nolo habere iratos, iure praesertim; quos video deinceps tribunos pl. per triennium fore.

3. Tempora autem rei publicae qualia futura sint, quis scit? mihi quidem turbulenta videntur fore. cur ego te velim incidere in terrores tribunicios, praesertim cum sine cuiusquam reprehensione quaestoriis legatis quaestorem possis anteferre? qui si *se* dignum maioribus suis praebuerit, ut spero et opto, tua laus ex aliqua parte fuerit; sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit. quae mihi veniebant in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitrabar, quod in Ciliciam proficiscebar, existimavi me ad te oportere scribere: tu quod egeris, id velim di adprobent; sed, si me audies, vitabis inimicitias et posteritatis otio consules.

XIX.

Scr. Tarsi a. d. X. Kal. Quintiles a. u. c. 704.

M. TULLIUS M. F. M. N. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. CAELIO L. F. C. N. CALDO QUAEST.

1. Cum optatissimum nuntium accepissem te mihi quaestorem obtigisse, eo iucundiorem mihi eam sortem sperabam fore, quo diutius in provincia mecum fuisses; magni enim videbatur interesse ad eam necessitudinem, quam nobis sors tribuisset, consue-

tudinem quoque accedere: postea cum mihi nihil neque a te ipso neque ab ullo alio de adventu tuo scriberetur, verebar ne id ita caderet—quod etiam nunc vereor —, ne ante, quam tu in provinciam venisses, ego de provincia decederem. accepi autem a te missas litteras in Cilicia, cum essem in castris, a. d. x. Kal. Quintilis, scriptas humanissime, quibus facile et officium et ingenium tuum perspici posset; sed neque unde nec quo die datae essent aut quo tempore te exspectarem significabant, nec is, qui attulerat, a te acceperat, ut ex eo scirem, quo ex loco aut quo tempore essent datae.

2. Quae cum essent incerta, existimavi tamen faciundum esse ut ad te statores meos et lictores cum litteris mitterem; quas si satis opportuno tempore accepisti, gratissimum mihi feceris, si *ad* me in Ciliciam quam primum veneris. nam quod ad me Curius, consobrinus tuus, mihi, ut scis, maxime necessarius, quod item C. Vergilius, propinquus tuus, familiarissimus noster, de te accuratissime scripsit, valet id quidem apud me multum, sicuti debet hominum amicissimorum diligens commendatio, sed tuae litterae de tua praesertim dignitate et de nostra coniunctione maximi sunt apud me ponderis. mihi quaestor optatior obtingere nemo potuit. quam ob rem quaecumque a me ornamenta in te *proficisci poterunt*, proficiscentur, ut omnes intellegant a me habitam esse rationem tuae maiorumque tuorum dignitatis. sed id facilius consequar, si ad me in Ciliciam veneris, quod ego et mea et rei publicae et maxime tua interesse arbitror.

M. TULLII CICERONIS EPISTOLARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

AD AP. CLAUDIUM PULCHRUM.

I.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 702 exeunte; a. C. 52.

CICERO APPIO IMP. S. D.

1. Si ipsa res publica tibi narrare posset, quo modo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses, quam ex liberto tuo Phania; ita est homo non modo prudens, verum etiam, quod iuvet, curiosus. quapropter ille tibi omnia explanabit; id enim mihi et ad brevitatem est aptius et ad reliquas res providentius. de mea autem benevolentia erga te, etsi potes ex eodem Phania cognoscere, tamen videntur etiam aliquae meae partes: sic enim tibi persuade, carissimum te mihi esse cum propter multas suavitates ingenii, officii, humanitatis tuae, tum quod ex tuis litteris et ex multorum sermonibus intellego omnia, quae a me profecta sunt in te, tibi accidisse gratissima. quod cum ita sit, perficiam profecto, ut longi temporis usuram, qua caruimus intermissa

nostra consuetudine, et gratia et crebritate et magnitudine officiorum meorum sarciam, idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva esse facturum, quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Παλλάδα, sed etiam Ἀππιάδα nominabo.

2. Cilix libertus tuus antea mihi minus fuit notus; sed, ut mihi reddidit a te litteras plenas et amoris et officii, mirifice ipse suo sermone subsecutus est humanitatem litterarum tuarum. iucunda mihi eius oratio fuit, cum de animo tuo, de sermonibus, quos de me haberes cotidie, mihi narraret. quid quaeris? biduo factus est mihi familiaris, ita tamen, ut Phaniam valde sim desideraturus, quem cum Romam remittes, quod, ut putabamus, celeriter eras facturus, omnibus ei de rebus, quas agi, quas curari a me voles, mandata des velim.

3. L. Valerium iureconsultum valde tibi commendo, sed ita etiam, si non est iure consultus: melius enim ei cavere volo quam ipse aliis solet. valde hominem diligo; est ex mēis domesticis atque intimis familiaribus. omnino tibi agit gratias, sed idem scribit meas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras. id eum ne fallat, *te* etiam atque etiam rogo.

II.

Scr. Romae a. u. c. 703 ineunte; a. C. 51.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO IMP.

1. Cum et contra voluntatem meam et praeter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis cogitationibusque meis haec una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum,

quisquam posset succedere neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam quam maxime mihi aptam explicatamque tradere. quod si tu quoque eandem de mea voluntate erga te spem habes, ea te profecto numquam fallet. a te maximo opere pro nostra summa coniunctione tuaque singulari humanitate etiam atque etiam quaeso et peto ut, quibuscumque rebus poteris—poteris autem plurimis—prospicias et consulas rationibus meis.

2. Vides ex senatus consulto provinciam esse habendam: si eam, quod eius facere potueris, quam expeditissumam mihi tradideris, facilior erit mihi quasi decursus mei temporis. quid in eo genere efficere possis, tui consilii est; ego te, quod tibi veniet in mentem mea interesse, valde rogo. pluribus verbis ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem exspectaret aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. hoc velim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis provisum a te esse intellexero, magnam me ex eo et perpetuam voluptatem esse capturum.

III.

Scr. Brundisii mense Maio exeunte a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. A. d. XI. Kalendas Iunias Brundisium cum venissem, Q. Fabius Vergilianus, legatus tuus, mihi praesto fuit eaque me ex tuis mandatis monuit, quae non mihi, ad quem pertinebant, sed universo senatui venerant in mentem, praesidio firmiore opus esse ad istam provinciam; censebant enim omnes fere, ut in Italia supplementum meis et Bibuli legionibus scribe-

retur. id cum Sulpicius consul passurum se negaret, multa nos quidem questi sumus, sed tantus consensus senatus fuit ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit; itaque fecimus. nunc, quod a te petii litteris iis, quas Romae tabellariis tuis dedi, velim tibi curae sit ut, quae successori coniunctissimo et amicissimo commodare potest is, qui provinciam tradit, ut ea pro nostra consociatissima voluntate cura ac diligentia tua conplectare: ut omnes intellegant nec me benevolentiori cuiquam succedere nec te amiciori potuisse provinciam tradere.

2. Ex iis litteris, quarum ad me exemplum misisti, quas in senatu recitari voluisti, sic intellexeram, permultos a te milites esse dimissos; sed mihi Fabius idem demonstravit, te id cogitasse facere, sed, cum ipse a te discederet, integrum militum numerum fuisse: id si ita est, pergratum mihi feceris, si istas exiguas copias, quas habuisti, quam minime inminueris; qua de re senatus consulta, quae facta sunt, ad te missa esse arbitror. equidem pro eo, quanti te facio, quicquid feceris, adprobabo, sed te quoque confido ea facturum, quae mihi intelleges maxime esse accommodata. ego C. Pomptinum legatum meum Brundisii exspectabam eumque ante Kalendas Iunias [Brundisium] venturum arbitrabar; qui cum venerit, quae primum navigandi nobis facultas data erit, utemur.

IV.

Scr. Brundisii Nonis Iuniis a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. Pridie Nonas Iunias, cum essem Brundisii, litteras tuas accepi, quibus erat scriptum te L. Clodio

mandasse, quae illum mecum loqui velles: eum sane exspectabam, ut ea, quae a te adferret, quam primum cognoscerem. meum studium erga te et officium, tametsi multis iam rebus spero tibi esse cognitum, tamen in iis maxime declarabo, quibus plurimum significare potuero tuam mihi existimationem et dignitatem carissimam esse. mihi et Q. Fabius Vergilianus et C. Flaccus L. f. et diligentissime M. Octavius Cn. f. demonstravit me a te plurimi fieri; quod egomet multis argumentis iam antea iudicaram maximeque illo libro augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum suavissimum misisti.

2. Mea in te omnia summa necessitudinis officia constabunt; nam cum te ipsum, ex quo tempore tu me diligere coepisti, cotidie pluris feci, tum accesserunt etiam coniunctiones necessariorum tuorum: duo enim duarum aetatum plurimi facio, Cn. Pompeium, filiae tuae socerum, et M. Brutum, generum tuum; conlegiique coniunctio, praesertim tam honorifice a te adprobata, non mediocre vinculum mihi quidem attulisse videtur ad voluntates nostras copulandas. sed et, si Clodium convenero, ex illius sermone ad te scribam plura, et ipse operam dabo, te ut quam primum videam. quod scribis tibi manendi causam eam fuisse, ut me convenires, id mihi, ne mentiar, est gratum.

V.

Scr. Trallibus a. d. VI. Kal. Sext. a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. Trallis veni a. d. VI. Kal. Sext. ibi mihi praesto fuit L. Lucilius cum litteris mandatisque tuis; quo quidem hominem neminem potuisti nec mihi ami-

ciorem nec, ut arbitror, ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiorem prudentioremve mittere. ego autem et tuas litteras legi libenter et audivi Lucilium diligenter. nunc, quoniam et tu ita sentis —scribis enim, quae de nostris officiis ego ad te scripserim, etsi tibi iucunda fuerint, tamen quoniam ex alto repetita sint, non necessaria te putasse—et re vera confirmata amicitia et perspecta fide commemoratio officiorum supervacanea est —, eam partem orationis praetermittam; tibi tamen agam, ut debeo, gratias: animadverti enim et didici ex tuis litteris te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem, ut mihi consuleres praestitueresque et praeparares quodam modo omnia, quo mea ratio facilior et solutior esse posset.

2. Hoc tuum officium cum mihi gratissimum esse dicam, sequitur illud, ut te existimare velim mihi magnae curae fore atque esse iam, primum ut ipse tu tuique omnes, deinde ut etiam reliqui scire possint me tibi esse amicissimum; quod quibus adhuc non satis est perspectum, ii mihi nolle magis nos hoc animo esse quam non intellegere videntur. sed profecto intellegent; neque enim obscuris personis nec parvis in causis res agetur. sed haec fieri melius quam dici aut scribi volo.

3. Quod itinerum meorum ratio te non nullam in dubitationem videtur adducere, visurusne me sis in provincia, ea res sic habet: Brundisii cum loquerer cum Phania liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem me libenter ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitraretur: tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe tu velles decedere, per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae navibus accessissem. dixi me esse facturum itaque fecissem, nisi mihi

L. Clodius noster Corcyrae dixisset minime id esse faciendum: te Laudiceae fore ad meum adventum. erat id mihi multo brevius multoque commodius, cum praesertim te ita malle arbitrarer.

4. Tua ratio postea est commutata. nunc, quid fieri possit, tu facillime statues; ego tibi meum consilium exponam: pr. Kalendas Sextilis puto me Laudiceae fore; perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur, quae mihi ex publica permutatione debetur, commorabor; deinde iter faciam ad exercitum, ut circiter Idus Sextilis putem me ad Iconium fore. sed si quid nunc me fallit in scribendo—procul enim aberam ab re ipsa et a locis —, simul ac progredi coepero, quam celerrime potero et quam creberrimis litteris faciam ut tibi nota sit omnis ratio dierum atque itinerum meorum. oneris tibi inponere nec audeo quicquam nec debeo. sed, quod commodo tuo fieri possit, utriusque nostrum magni interest *ut te videam ante* quam decedas; quam facultatem si quis casus eripuerit, mea tamen in te omnia officia constabunt non secus ac si te vidissem. tibi de nostris rebus nihil sum ante mandaturus per litteras quam desperaro coram me tecum agere posse.

5. Quod te a Scaevola petisse dicis, ut, dum tu abesses, ante adventum meum provinciae praeesset, eum ego Ephesi vidi fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum, nec ex eo quicquam audivi, quod sibi a te mandatum diceret. ac sane vellem potuisset obsequi voluntati tuae; non enim arbitror noluisse.

VI.

Scr. in castris ad Iconium pr. Kal. Sept. a. u. c. 703.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. Cum meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector quam tuo. ego enim Brundisii quaesivi ex Phania, cuius mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse et nosse locum, quem apud te is teneret, quam in partem provinciae maxime putaret te velle ut in succedendo primum venirem. cum ille mihi respondisset, nihil me tibi gratius facere posse quam si ad Sidam navigassem, etsi minus dignitatis habebat ille adventus et ad multas res mihi minus erat aptus, tamen ita me dixi esse facturum.

2. Idem ego cum L. Clodium Corcyrae convenissem, hominem ita tibi coniunctum, ut mihi, cum illo cum loquerer, tecum loqui viderer, dixi ei me ita facturum esse, ut in eam partem, quam Phania rogasset, primum venirem. tunc ille, mihi cum gratias egisset, magno opere a me petivit, ut Laodiceam protinus irem; te in prima provincia velle esse, ut quam primum decederes; quin, nisi ego successor essem, quem tu cuperes videre, te antea, quam tibi successum esset, decessurum fuisse: quod quidem erat consentaneum cum iis litteris, quas ego Romae acceperam, ex quibus perspexisse mihi videbar, quam festinares decedere. respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum ac multo quidem libentius quam si illud esset faciendum, quod promiseram Phaniae; itaque et consilium mutavi et ad te statim mea manu

scriptas litteras misi, quas quidem ex tuis litteris intellexi satis mature ad te esse perlatas.

3. Hoc ego meo facto valde delector; nihil enim potuit fieri amantius. considera nunc vicissim tuum: non modo ibi non fuisti, ubi me quam primum videre posses, sed eo discessisti, quo ego te ne persequi quidem possem triginta diebus, qui tibi ad decedendum lege, ut opinor, Cornelia constituti essent; ut tuum factum *iis*, qui, quo animo inter nos simus, ignorent, alieni hominis, ut lenissime dicam, et fugientis congressum, meum vero coniunctissimi et amicissimi esse videatur.

4. Ac mihi tamen ante, quam in provinciam veni, redditae sunt a te litterae; quibus etsi te Tarsum proficisci demonstrabas, tamen mihi non dubiam spem mei conveniendi adferebas: cum interea, credo equidem, malevoli homines—late enim patet hoc vitium et est in multis —, sed tamen probabilem materiem nacti sermonis, ignari meae constantiae, conabantur alienare a te voluntatem meam; qui te forum Tarsi agere, statuere multa, decernere, iudicare dicerent, cum posses iam suspicari tibi esse successum: quae ne ab iis quidem fieri solerent, qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent.

5. Horum ego sermone non movebar, quin etiam, credas mihi velim, si quid tu ageres, levari me putabam molestia et ex annua provincia, quae mihi longa videretur, prope iam undecim mensum provinciam factam esse gaudebam, si absenti mihi unius mensis labor detractus esset: illud, vere dicam, me movet, in tanta militum paucitate abesse tris cohortis, quae sint plenissimae, nec me scire ubi sint. molestissime autem fero quod, te ubi visurus sim, nescio, eoque ad te tardius scripsi, quod cotidie te ipsum exspectabam:

cum interea ne litteras quidem ullas accepi, quae me docerent, quid ageres aut ubi te visurus essem. itaque virum fortem mihique in primis probatum, Antonium, praefectum evocatorum, misi ad te, cui, si tibi videretur, cohortis traderes, ut, dum tempus anni esset idoneum, aliquid negotii gerere possem; in quo, tuo consilio ut me sperarem esse usurum, et amicitia nostra et litterae tuae fecerant, quod ne nunc quidem despero. sed plane, quando aut ubi te visurus sim, nisi ad me scripseris, ne suspicari quidem possum.

6. Ego, ut me tibi amicissimum esse et aequi et iniqui intellegant, curabo: de tuo in me animo iniquis secus existimandi videris non nihil loci dedisse; id si correxeris, mihi valde gratum erit. et, ut habere rationem possis, quo loco me salva lege Cornelia convenias, ego in provinciam veni pridie Kalendas Sextilis; iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam; castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kalendas Septembris. nunc tu et ex diebus et ex ratione itineris, si putabis me esse conveniendum, constitues, quo loco id commodissime fieri possit et quo die.

VII.

Scr. Laodiceae mense Ianuario exeunte a. u. c. 704; a. C. 50.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. Pluribus verbis ad te scribam, cum plus otii nactus ero. haec scripsi subito, cum Bruti pueri Laudiceae me convenissent et se Romam properare dixissent; itaque nullas iis praeterquam ad te et ad Brutum dedi litteras.

2. Legati Appiani mihi volumen a te plenum

querelae iniquissimae reddiderunt, quod eorum aedificationem litteris meis impedissem; eadem autem epistola petebas ut eos quam primum, ne in hiemem inciderent, ad facultatem aedificandi liberarem, et simul peracute querebare, quod eos tributa exigere vetarem prius quam ego re cognita permisissem; genus enim quoddam fuisse impediendi, cum ego cognoscere non *possem*, nisi cum ad hiemem me ex Cilicia recepissem.

3. Ad omnia accipe, et cognosce aequitatem expostulationis tuae: primum, cum ad me aditum esset ab iis, qui dicerent a se intolerabilia tributa exigi, quid habuit iniquitatis me scribere, ne facerent ante quam ego rem causamque cognossem? non poteram, credo, ante hiemem; sic enim scribis: quasi vero ad cognoscendum ego ad illos, non illi ad me venire debuerint. 'tam longe?' inquis. quid? cum dabas iis litteras, per quas mecum agebas, ne eos impedirem, quo minus ante hiemem aedificarent, non eos ad me venturos arbitrabare? tametsi id quidem fecerunt ridicule; quas enim litteras adferebant, ut opus aestate facere possent, eas mihi post brumam reddiderunt. sed scito et multo pluris esse, qui de tributis recusent, quam qui exigi velint, et me tamen, quod te velle existimem, esse facturum. de Appianis hactenus.

4. A Pausania, Lentuli liberto, accenso meo, audivi, cum diceret, te secum esse questum, quod tibi obviam non prodissem. scilicet contempsi te, nec potest fieri me quicquam superbius! cum puer tuus ad me secunda fere vigilia venisset isque te ante lucem Iconium mihi venturum nuntiasset, incertumque, utra via, cum essent duae, altera Varronem, tuum familiarissimum, altera Q. Leptam, praefectum fa-

brum meum, tibi obviam misi. mandavi utrique eorum, ut ante ad me excurrerent, ut tibi obviam prodire possem: currens Lepta venit mihique nuntiavit te iam castra praetergressum esse. confestim Iconium veni. cetera iam tibi nota sunt. an ego tibi obviam non prodirem? primum Ap. Claudio? deinde imperatori? deinde more maiorum? deinde, quod caput est, amico? *qui* in isto genere multo etiam ambitiosius facere soleam, quam honos meus et dignitas postulat. sed haec hactenus.

5. Illud idem Pausania dicebat te dixisse: 'quid? Appius Lentulo, Lentulus Ampio processit obviam, Cicero Appio noluit?' quaeso, etiamne tu has ineptias, homo mea sententia summa prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo rerum usu, addo urbanitatem, quae est virtus, ut Stoici rectissime putant,—ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas? cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus; viros eos, qui ea vobis reliquissent, magnos arbitrabar: postea vero quam ita et cepi et gessi maxima imperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam adquirendum putarem, superiorem quidem numquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum. nec mehercule aliter vidi existimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus, qui umquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipsi antepono: tu si aliter existimas, nihil errabis, si paulo diligentius, ut, quid sit εὐγένεια, quid sit nobilitas, intellegas, Athenodorus, Sandonis filius, quid de his rebus dicat, attenderis.

6. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, me tibi non amicum modo, verum etiam amicissimum existimes velim:

profecto omnibus officiis meis efficiam, ut ita esse vere possis iudicare. tu autem si id agis, ut minus mea causa, dum ego absum, debere videaris, quam ego tua laborarim, libero te ista cura:

πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι
οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

si autem natura es φιλαίτιος, illud non perficies, quo minus tua causa velim; hoc adsequere, ut, quam in partem tu accipias, minus laborem. haec ad te scripsi liberius, fretus conscientia officii mei benevolentiaeque, quam a me certo iudicio susceptam, quoad tu voles, conservabo.

VIII.

Scr. in castris in agro Mopsuhestiae a. d. VIII. Idus Octobres a. u. c. 703; a. C. 51.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCHRO.

1. Etsi, quantum ex tuis litteris intellegere potui, videbam te hanc epistolam, cum ad urbem esses, esse lecturum, refrigerato iam levissimo sermone hominum provincialium, tamen, cum tu tam multis verbis ad me de inproborum oratione scripsisses, faciendum mihi putavi, ut tuis litteris brevi responderem.

2. Sed prima duo capita epistolae tuae tacita mihi quodam modo relinquenda sunt; nihil enim habent, quod definitum sit aut certum, nisi me voltu *et* taciturnitate significasse tibi non esse amicum, idque pro tribunali, cum aliquid ageretur, et non nullis in conviviis intellegi potuisse. hoc totum nihil esse possum intellegere; sed cum sit nihil, ne quid dicatur quidem intellego: illud quidem scio, meos multos et

inlustris et ex superiore et ex aequo loco sermones habitos cum tua summa laude et cum magna [sollicitudine] significatione nostrae familiaritatis ad te vere potuisse deferri. nam, quod ad legatos attinet, quid a me fieri potuit aut elegantius aut iustius quam ut sumptus egentissimarum civitatum minuerem sine ulla imminutione dignitatis tuae, praesertim ipsis civitatibus postulantibus? nam mihi totum genus legationum tuo nomine proficiscentium notum non erat. Apameae cum essem, multarum civitatum principes ad me detulerunt sumptus decerni legatis nimis magnos, cum solvendo civitates non essent.

3. Hic ego multa simul cogitavi. primum te hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam, ut nunc loquimur, urbanum, non arbitrabar genere isto legationum delectari, idque me arbitror Synnadis pro tribunali multis verbis disputavisse: primum, Ap. Claudium senatui populoque Romano, non Midaeensium testimonio—in ea enim civitate mentio facta est —, sed sua sponte esse laudatum; deinde me ita vidisse accidere multis, ut eorum causa legationes Romam venirent, sed his legationibus non meminisse ullum tempus laudandi aut locum dari; studia mihi eorum placere, quod in te bene merito grati essent, consilium totum videri minime necessarium; si autem vellent declarare in eo officium suum, laudaturum me, si qui suo sumptu functus esset officio; concessurum, si legitimo; non permissurum, si infinito. quid enim reprehendi potest? nisi quod addis visum esse quibusdam edictum meum quasi consulto ad istas legationes impediendas esse accommodatum. iam non tam mihi videntur iniuriam facere ii, qui haec disputant, quam si cuius aures ad hanc disputationem patent.

4. Romae conposui edictum; nihil addidi nisi quod publicani me rogarunt, cum Samum ad me venissent, ut de tuo edicto totidem verbis transferrem in meum. diligentissime scriptum caput est, quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum, quo in capite sunt quaedam nova, salutaria civitatibus, quibus ego magno opere delector; hoc vero, ex quo suspitio nata est me exquisisse aliquid, in quo te offenderem, tralaticium est. neque enim eram tam desipiens, ut privatae rei causa legari putarem, qui et tibi non privato et pro re non privata sua, sed publica, non in privato, sed in publico orbis terrae consilio, [id est in senatu,] ut gratias agerent, mittebantur: neque cum edixi ne quis iniussu meo proficisceretur, exclusi eos, qui me in castra et qui trans Taurum persequi non possent. nam id est maxime in tuis litteris inridendum: quid enim erat, quod me persequerentur in castra Taurumve transirent, cum ego Laodicea usque ad Iconium iter ita fecerim, ut me omnium illarum dioecesium, quae cis Taurum sunt, omniumque earum civitatum magistratus legationesque convenirent?

5. Nisi forte postea coeperunt legare quam ego Taurum transgressus sum; quod certe non ita est: cum enim Laodiceae, cum Apameae, cum Synnadis, cum Philomelii, cum Iconii essem, quibus in oppidis omnibus commoratus sum, omnes iam istius generis legationes erant constitutae. atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent, ne in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissumam exactionem, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minime necessarii; ego autem, cum hoc

suscepissem, non solum iustitia, sed etiam misericordia adductus, ut levarem miseriis perditas civitates et perditas maxime per magistratus suos, non potui in illo sumptu non necessario neglegens esse. tu, *si* istius modi sermones ad te delati de me sunt, non debuisti credere; si autem hoc genere delectaris, ut quae tibi in mentem veniant aliis attribuas, genus sermonis inducis in amicitiam minime liberale. ego, si in provincia de tua fama detrahere umquam cogitassem, † non generum tuum libertum Brundisii neque ad praefectum fabrum Corcyrae, quem in locum me venire velles, retulissem. qua re potes doctissimis hominibus auctoribus, quorum sunt de amicitia gerenda praeclarissime scripti libri, genus hoc totum orationis tollere: 'disputabant; ego contra disserebam: dicebant; ego negabam.'

6. An mihi de te nihil esse dictum umquam putas? ne hoc quidem, quod, cum me Laodiceam venire voluisses, Taurum ipse transisti? quod isdem diebus meus conventus erat Apameae, Synnade, Philomelii, tuus Tarsi? non dicam plura, ne, in quo te obiurgem, id ipsum videar imitari: illud dicam ut sentio: si ista, quae alios loqui dicis, ipse sentis, tua summa culpa est; sin autem alii tecum haec loquuntur, tua tamen, quod audis, culpa non nulla est. mea ratio in tota amicitia nostra constans et gravis reperietur. quod si qui me astutiorem fingit, quid potest esse callidius quam, cum te absentem semper defenderim, cum praesertim mihi usu venturum non arbitrarer, ut ego quoque a te absens defendendus essem, nunc committere, ut tu iure optimo me absentem deserere possis?

7. Unum genus excipio sermonis, in quo persaepe aliquid dicitur, quod te putem nolle dici, si aut

legatorum tuorum cuipiam aut praefectorum aut tribunorum militum male dicitur: quod tamen ipsum non mehercule adhuc accidit me audiente, ut aut gravius diceretur aut in pluris, quam mecum Corcyrae Clodius est locutus, cum in eo genere maxime quereretur te aliorum inprobitate minus felicem fuisse. hos ego sermones, quod et multi sunt et tuam existimationem, ut ego sentio, non offendunt, lacessivi numquam, sed non valde repressi. si quis est qui neminem bona fide in gratiam putet redire posse, non nostram is perfidiam coarguit, sed indicat suam, simulque non de me is peius quam de te existimat; sin autem quem mea instituta in provincia non delectant et quadam dissimilitudine institutorum meorum ac tuorum laedi se putat, cum uterque nostrum recte fecerit, sed non idem uterque secutus sit, hunc ego amicum habere non curo.

8. Liberalitas tua, ut hominis nobilissimi, latius in provincia patuit: nostra si angustior *est*—etsi de tua prolixa beneficaque natura limavit aliquid posterior annus propter quandam tristitiam temporum —, non debent mirari homines, cum et natura semper ad largiendum ex alieno fuerim restrictior et temporibus, quibus alii moventur, isdem ego movear:

me esse acerbum sibi, ut sim dulcis mihi.

9. De rebus urbanis quod me certiorem fecisti, cum per se mihi gratum fuit, tum quod significasti tibi omnia mea mandata curae fore; in quibus unum illud te praecipue rogo ut cures, ne quid mihi ad hoc negotii aut oneris accedat aut temporis, Hortensiumque nostrum conlegam et familiarem roges ut, si umquam mea causa quicquam aut sensit aut fecit, de hac quoque sententia bima decedat, qua mihi nihil potest esse inimicius.

10. De nostris rebus quod scire vis: Tarso Nonis Octobribus Amanum versus profecti sumus; haec scripsi postridie eius diei, cum castra haberem in agro Mopsuhestiae. si quid egero, scribam ad te, neque domum umquam ad me litteras mittam, quin adiungam eas, quas tibi reddi velim. de Parthis quod quaeris, fuisse nullos puto; Arabes qui fuerunt admixto Parthico ornatu, dicuntur omnes revertisse; hostem esse in Syria negant ullum. tu velim ad me quam saepissime et de tuis rebus scribas et de meis et de omni rei publicae statu, de quo sum sollicitus eo magis, quod ex tuis litteris cognovi Pompeium nostrum in Hispaniam iturum.

IX.

Scr. Laodiceae mense Februario a. u. c. 704; a. C. 50.

M. CICERO AP. PULCHRO S.

1. Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Ap. Claudio, plenas humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. aspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit: nam quas ex itinere ante quam ex Asia egressus es ad me litteras misisti, unas de legatis a me prohibitis proficisci, alteras de Appianorum aedificatione impedita, legi perinvitus; itaque conscientia meae constantis erga te voluntatis rescripsi tibi subiratus. iis vero litteris lectis, quas Philotimo liberto meo dedisti, cognovi intellexique in provincia multos fuisse, qui nos, quo animo inter nos sumus, esse nollent; ad urbem vero ut accesseris vel potius ut primum tuos videris, cognosse te ex iis, qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis tuendis erga te observantia et constantia fuissem. itaque quanti

illud me aestimare putas, quod est in tuis litteris scriptum, si quid inciderit, quod ad meam dignitatem pertineat, etsi vix fieri possit, tamen te parem mihi gratiam relaturum. tu vero facile facies; nihil est enim, quod studio et benevolentia vel amore potius effici non possit.

2. Ego, etsi et ipse ita iudicabam et fiebam crebro a meis per litteras certior, tamen maximam laetitiam cepi ex tuis litteris de spe minime dubia et plane explorata triumphi tui; neque vero ob eam causam, quo ipse facilius consequerer—nam id quidem Ἐπικούρειον est —, sed mehercule, quod tua dignitas atque amplitudo mihi est ipsa cara per se. qua re quoniam pluris tu habes quam ceteri, quos scias in hanc provinciam proficisci, quod te adeunt fere omnes, si quid velis, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me, simul atque adeptus eris quod et tu confidis et ego opto, litteras miseris. longi subsellii, ut noster Pompeius appellat, iudicatio et mora si quem tibi item unum alterumve diem abstulerit—quid enim potest amplius? — tua tamen dignitas suum locum obtinebit. sed, si me diligis, si a me diligi vis, ad me litteras, ut quam primum laetitia adficiar, mittito.

3. Et velim, reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui, mihi persolvas: cum ipsam cognitionem iuris augurii consequi cupio, tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector. quod autem a me tale quiddam desideras, sane mihi considerandum est, quonam te remunerer potissimum genere; nam profecto non est meum, qui in scribendo, ut soles admirari, tantum industriae ponam, committere ut neglegens [scribendo] fuisse videar, praesertim cum id non modo neglegentis, sed etiam

ingrati animi crimen futurum sit. verum haec videbimus.

4. Illud, quod polliceris, velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra non instituta, sed iam inveterata amicitia cures *et* enitare, ut supplicatio nobis quam honorificentissime quam primumque decernatur. omnino serius misi litteras quam vellem; in quo cum difficultas navigandi fuit odiosa, tum *in* ipsum discessum senatus incidisse credo meas litteras: sed id feci adductus auctoritate et consilio tuo, idque a me recte factum puto, quod non statim, ut appellatus imperator sim, sed aliis rebus additis aestivisque confectis litteras miserim. haec igitur tibi erunt curae, quem ad modum ostendis, meque totum et mea et meos commendatos habebis.

X.

Scr. Laodiceae mense Maio a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO AP. PULCHRO S.

1. Cum est ad nos adlatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent, etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam praeter opinionem meam accidere potuit, tamen, ut me collegi, cetera mihi facillima videbantur, quod et in te ipso maximam spem et in tuis magnam habebam, multaque mihi veniebant in mentem, quam ob rem istum laborem tibi etiam honori putarem fore. illud plane moleste tuli, quod certissimum et iustissimum triumphum hoc invidorum consilio esse tibi ereptum videbam: quod tu si tanti facies, quanti ego semper iudicavi faciendum esse, facies sapienter et ages victor ex inimicorum dolore triumphum iustissimum;

ego enim plane video fore nervis, opibus, sapientia tua, vehementer ut inimicos tuos paeniteat intemperantiae suae. de me tibi sic contestans omnis deos promitto atque confirmo, me pro tua dignitate —malo enim *ita* dicere, quam pro salute—in hac provincia, cui tu praefuisti, rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis, ut spero, apud civitates, gravitate imperatoris susceppturum officia atque partis. omnia volo a me et postules et exspectes: vincam meis officiis cogitationes tuas.

2. Q. Servilius perbrevis mihi a te litteras reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt; iniuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, cum rogabar. nollem accidisset tempus, in quo perspicere posses, quanti te, quanti Pompeium, quem unum ex omnibus facio, ut debeo, plurimi, quanti Brutum facerem; quamquam in consuetudine cotidiana perspexisses, sicuti perspicies: sed, quoniam accidit, si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor.

3. Pomptinus, qui a te tractatus est praestanti ac singulari fide, cuius tui beneficii sum ego testis, praestat tibi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam debet; qui, cum maximis suis rebus coactus a me invitissimo decessisset, tamen, ut vidit interesse tua, conscendens iam navem Epheso Laodiceam revertit: talia te cum studia videam habiturum esse innumerabilia, plane dubitare non possum quin tibi amplitudo, ista sollicitudo futura sit. si vero effeceris, ut censores creentur, et si ita gesseris censuram, ut et debes et potes, non tibi solum, sed tuis omnibus video in perpetuum summo te praesidio futurum. illud pugna et enitere, ne quid nobis temporis prorogetur, ut, cum hic tibi

satis fecerimus, istic quoque nostram in te benevolentiam navare possimus.

4. Quae de hominum atque ordinum omnium erga te studiis scribis ad me, minime mihi miranda et maxime iucunda acciderunt, eademque ad me perscripta sunt a familiaribus meis. itaque capio magnam voluptatem, cum tibi cuius mihi amicitia non solum ampla, sed etiam iucunda est, ea tribui, quae debeantur, tum vero remanere etiam nunc in civitate nostra studia prope omnium consensu erga fortis et industrios viros, quae mihi ipsi una semper tributa merces est laborum et vigiliarum mearum.

5. Illud vero mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adulescente, cuius ego salutem duobus capitis iudiciis summa contentione defendi, ut tuis inimicitiis suscipiendis oblivisceretur patroni omnium fortunarum ac rationum suarum, praesertim cum tu omnibus vel ornamentis vel praesidiis redundares, *ipsi*, ut lenissime dicam, multa deessent. cuius sermo stultus et puerilis erat iam ante ad me a M. Caelio, familiari nostro, perscriptus; de quo item sermone multa scripta sunt abs te. Ego autem citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem coniunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem; neque enim de meo erga te studio dubitare debes, neque id est obscurum cuiquam in provincia nec Romae fuit.

6. Sed tamen significatur in tuis litteris suspitio quaedam et dubitatio tua, de qua alienum tempus est mihi tecum expostulandi, purgandi autem mei necessarium. ubi enim ego cuiquam legationi fui impedimento, quo minus Romam ad laudem tuam mitteretur? aut in quo potui, si te palam odissem, minus quod tibi obesset facere, si clam, magis aperte inimicus

esse? quod si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt, tamen ea stultitia certe non fuissem, ut aut in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, aut, in quo tibi nihil nocerem, summam ostenderem voluntatem nocendi. ad me adire quosdam memini, nimirum ex Epicteto, qui dicerent nimis magnos sumptus legatis decerni; quibus ego non tam imperavi quam censui sumptus legatis quam maxime ad legem Corneliam decernendos. atque in eo ipso me non perseverasse testes sunt rationes civitatum, in quibus, quantum quaeque voluit, legatis tuis datum induxit.

7. Te autem quibus mendaciis homines levissimi onerarunt! non modo sublatos sumptus, sed etiam a procuratoribus eorum, qui iam profecti essent, repetitos et ablatos, eamque causam multis omnino non eundi fuisse. quererer tecum atque expostularem, ni, ut supra scripsi, purgare me tibi hoc tuo tempore quam accusare te mallem idque putarem esse rectius. itaque nihil de te, quod credideris; de me, quam ob rem non debueris credere, pauca dicam: nam si me virum bonum, si dignum iis studiis eaque doctrina, cui me a pueritia dedi, si satis magni animi, non minimi consilii in maximis rebus perspectum habes, nihil in me non modo perfidiosum et insidiosum et fallax in amicitia, sed ne humile quidem aut ieiunum debes agnoscere.

8. Sin autem me astutum et occultum lubet fingere, quid est quod minus cadere in eius modi naturam possit quam aut florentissimi hominis aspernari benevolentiam aut eius existimationem oppugnare in provincia, cuius laudem domi defenderis, aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum, in qua nihil obsis, aut id eligere ad perfidiam, quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum? quid

erat autem cur ego in te tam inplacabilis essem, cum te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem, cum tibi prope necesse esset eas agere partis, inimicum mihi fuisse cognossem? cum vero reditum nostrum in gratiam uterque expetisset, quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti, quod me aut facere aut sentire voluisses? quid mihi mandasti, cum te Puteolis prosequerer, in quo non exspectationem tuam diligentia mea vicerim?

9. Quod si id est maxime astuti, omnia ad suam utilitatem referre, quid mihi tandem erat utilius, quid commodis meis aptius, quam hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi coniunctio, cuius opes, ingenium, liberi, adfines, propinqui, mihi magno vel ornamento vel praesidio esse possent? quae tamen ego omnia in expetenda amicitia tua non astutia quadam, sed aliqua potius sapientia secutus sum. quid? illa vincula, quibus quidem libentissime astringor, quanta sunt! studiorum similitudo, suavitas consuetudinis, delectatio vitae atque victus, sermonis societas, litterae interiores. atque haec domestica. quid illa tandem popularia? reditus inlustris in gratiam, in quo ne per inprudentiam quidem errari potest sine suspitione perfidiae; amplissimi sacerdotii collegium, in quo non modo amicitiam violari apud maiores nostros fas non erat, sed ne cooptari quidem sacerdotem licebat, qui cuiquam ex collegio esset inimicus.

10. Quae ut omittam tam multa atque tanta, quis umquam tanti quemquam fecit aut facere potuit aut debuit, quanti ego Cn. Pompeium, socerum tuae filiae? etenim si merita valent, patriam, liberos, salutem, dignitatem, memet ipsum mihi per illum restitutum puto; si consuetudinis iucunditas, quae fuit umquam amicitia consularium in nostra civitate con-

iunctior? si illa amoris atque officii signa, quid mihi ille non commisit? quid non mecum communicavit? quid de se in senatu, cum ipse abesset, per quemquam agi maluit? quibus ille me rebus non ornatum voluit amplissime? qua denique ille facilitate, qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adversantem interdum actionibus suis? quo studio providit, ne quae me illius temporis invidia attingeret, cum me consilio, cum auctoritate, cum armis denique texit suis? quibus quidem temporibus haec in eo gravitas, haec animi altitudo fuit, non modo ut Phrygi alicui aut Lycaoni, quod tu in legatis fecisti, sed ne summorum quidem hominum malevolis de me sermonibus crederet. huius igitur filius cum sit gener tuus cumque praeter hanc coniunctionem adfinitatis, quam sis Cn. Pompeio carus quamque iucundus, intellegam, quo tandem animo in te esse debeo? cum praesertim eas ad me litteras is miserit, quibus, etiam si tibi, cui sum amicissimus, hostis essem, placarer tamen totumque me ad eius viri ita de me meriti voluntatem nutumque converterem.

11. Sed haec hactenus; pluribus enim etiam fortasse verbis, quam necesse fuit, scripta sunt. nunc ea, quae *a* me perfecta quaeque instituta sunt, cognosce. . . . . atque haec agimus et agemus magis pro dignitate quam pro periculo tuo. te enim, ut spero, propediem censorem audiemus, cuius magistratus officia, quae sunt maximi animi summique consilii, tibi diligentius et accuratius quam haec, quae nos de te agimus, cogitanda esse censeo.

XI.

Scr. in castris ad Pyramum mense Iunio a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO AP. PULCHRO, ut spero, CENSORI S. D.

1. Cum essem in castris ad fluvium Pyramum, redditae mihi sunt uno tempore a te epistolae duae, quas ad me Q. Servilius Tarso miserat: earum in altera dies erat adscripta Nonarum Aprilium; in altera, quae mihi recentior videbatur, dies non erat. respondebo igitur superiori prius, in qua scribis ad me de absolutione maiestatis. de qua etsi permultum ante certior factus eram litteris, nuntiis, fama denique ipsa—nihil enim fuit clarius; non quo quisquam aliter putasset, sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet—, tamen eadem illa laetiora fecerunt mihi tuae litterae, non solum quia planius loquebantur et uberius quam volgi sermo, sed etiam quia magis videbar tibi gratulari, cum de te ex te ipso audiebam.

2. Conplexus igitur sum cogitatione te absentem; epistolam vero osculatus, etiam ipse mihi gratulatus sum. quae enim *a* cuncto populo, a senatu, a iudicibus ingenio, industriae, virtuti tribuuntur, quia mihi ipse adsentior fortasse, cum ea esse in me fingo, mihi quoque ipsi tribui puto. nec tam gloriosum exitum tui iudicii exstitisse, sed tam pravam inimicorum tuorum mentem fuisse mirabar. de ambitu vero quid interest, inquies, an de maiestate? ad rem nihil; alterum enim non attigisti, alteram auxisti; verum tamen *ea* est maiestas, ut Sulla voluit, ut in quemvis inpune declamari liceret; ambitus vero ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur inprobe aut defendatur. qui enim facta et non facta largitio ignorari potest? tuorum autem honorum cursus cui suspectus umquam

fuit? me miserum, qui non adfuerim! quos ego risus excitassem!

3. Sed de maiestatis iudicio duo mihi illa ex tuis litteris iucundissima fuerunt: unum, quod te ab ipsa re publica defensum scribis, quae quidem etiam in summa bonorum et fortium civium copia tueri talis viros deberet, nunc vero eo magis, quod tanta penuria est in omni vel honoris vel aetatis gradu, ut tam orba civitas talis tutores conplecti debeat; alterum, quod Pompeii et Bruti fidem benevolentiamque mirifice laudas. laetor virtute et officio cum tuorum necessariorum, meorum amicissimorum, tum alterius omnium saeculorum et gentium principis, alterius iam pridem iuventutis, celeriter, ut spero, civitatis. de mercennariis testibus a suis civitatibus notandis, nisi iam factum est aliquid per Flaccum, fiet a me, cum per Asiam decedam.

4. Nunc ad alteram epistolam venio. quod ad me quasi formam communium temporum et totius rei publicae misisti expressam, prudentia litterarum tuarum valde mihi est grata; video enim et pericula leviora, quam timebam, et maiora praesidia, si quidem, ut scribis, omnes vires civitatis se ad Pompeii ductum adplicaverunt, tuumque simul promptum animum et alacrem perspexi ad defendendam rem publicam, mirificamque cepi voluptatem ex hac tua diligentia, quod in summis tuis occupationibus mihi tamen rei publicae statum per te notum esse voluisti: nam auguralis libros ad commune utriusque nostrum otium serva; ego enim, a te cum tua promissa per litteras flagitabam, ad urbem te otiosissimum esse arbitrabar: nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro auguralibus libris orationes tuas confectas omnis exspectabo.

5. D. Tullius, cui mandata ad me dedisti, non convenerat me; nec erat iam quisquam mecum tuorum

praeter omnis meos, qui sunt omnes tui. Stomachosiores meas litteras quas dicas esse, non intellego: bis ad te scripsi, me purgans diligenter, te leniter accusans in eo, quod de me cito credidisses; quod genus querelae mihi quidem videbatur esse amici; sin tibi displicet, non utar eo posthac. sed si, ut scribis, eae litterae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse: ut enim Aristarchus Homeri versum negat, quem non probat, sic tu—libet enim mihi iocari —, quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum. vale et in censura — si iam es censor, ut spero — de proavo multum cogitato tuo

XII.

Scr. Sidae a. d. III. Nonas Sextiles a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO AP. PULCHRO S.

1. Gratulabor tibi prius — ita enim rerum ordo postulat —, deinde ad me convertar. ego vero vehementer gratulor de iudicio ambitus, neque id, quod nemini dubium fuit, absolutum esse te, sed illud, quod, quo melior civis, quo vir clarior, quo fortior amicus es quoque plura virtutis, industriae ornamenta in te sunt, eo mirandum est magis nullam ne in tabellae quidem latebra fuisse absconditam malevolentiam, quae te inpugnare auderet. non horum temporum, non horum hominum atque morum negotium! nihil iam sum pridem admiratus magis.

2. De me autem, suscipe paulisper meas partis et eum te esse finge, qui sum ego; si facile inveneris, quid dicas, noli ignoscere haesitationi meae. ego vero velim mihi Tulliaeque meae, sicut tu amicissime et suavissime optas, prospere evenire ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis, et ita cecidisse, ut agerentur eo tempore, spero omnino cum aliqua felicitate et

opto; verum tamen plus me in hac spe tua sapientia et humanitas consolatur quam opportunitas temporis: itaque, quem ad modum expediam exitum huius institutae orationis, non reperio; neque enim tristius dicere quicquam debeo ea de re, quam tu ipse ominibus optimis prosequeris, neque non me tamen mordet aliquid. in quo unum non vereor, ne tu parum perspicias ea, *quae* gesta sint, ab aliis esse gesta, quibus ego ita mandaram, ut, cum tam longe afuturus essem, ad me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent.

3. In hoc autem mihi illud occurrit: 'quid tu igitur, si adfuisses?' rem probassem; de tempore, nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo. vides sudare me iam dudum laborantem, quo modo ea tuear, quae mihi tuenda sunt, ut te non offendam: leva me igitur hoc onere; numquam enim mihi videor tractasse causam difficiliorem. sic habeto tamen: nisi iam tunc omnia negotia cum summa tua dignitate diligentissime confecissem, tametsi nihil videbatur ad meum erga te pristinum studium addi posse, tamen hac mihi adfinitate nuntiata non maiore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem.

4. Decedenti mihi et iam imperio annuo terminato ante d. III. Nonas Sext., cum ad Sidam navi accederem et mecum Q. Servilius esset, litterae a meis sunt redditae. dixi statim Servilio — etenim videbatur esse commotus —, ut omnia a me maiora exspectaret. quid multa? benevolentior tibi quam fui nihilo sum factus, diligentior ad declarandam benevolentiam multo. nam, ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me ut caverem, ne cui suspitionem ficte reconciliatae gratiae darem, sic adfinitas nova curam mihi adfert cavendi ne quid de summo meo erga te amore detractum esse videatur.

XIII.

Scr. in Asia mense Septembri a. u. c. 704.

M. CICERO AP. PULCHRO S.

1. Quasi divinarem tali in officio fore mihi aliquando expetendum studium tuum, sic, cum de tuis rebus gestis agebatur, inserviebam honori tuo. dicam tamen vere: plus quam acceperas reddidisti. quis enim ad me non perscripsit te non solum auctoritate orationis, sententia tua, quibus ego a tali viro contentus eram, sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis, nullum onus officii cuiquam reliquum fecisse? haec mihi ampliora multo sunt quam illa ipsa, propter quae haec laborantur: insignia enim virtutis multi etiam sine virtute adsecuti sunt; talium virorum tanta studia adsequi sola virtus potest.

2. Itaque mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam, qua nihil est uberius, praesertim in iis studiis, quibus uterque nostrum devinctus est; nam tibi me profiteor et in re publica socium, de qua idem sentimus, et in cotidiana vita coniunctum, quam his artibus studiisque colimus. vellem ita fortuna tulisset, ut, quanti ego omnis tuos facio, tanti tu meos facere posses; quod tamen ipsum, nescio qua permotus animi divinatione, non despero. sed hoc nihil ad te; nostrum est onus. illud velim sic habeas, quod intelleges hac re novata additum potius aliquid ad meum erga te studium, quo nihil videbatur addi posse, quam quicquam esse detractum. cum haec scribebam, censorem iam te esse sperabam: eo brevior est epistola et ut adversus magistrum morum modestior.

NOTES.

CICERO'S LETTERS,

BOOK I.

TO PUBLIUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

Jan. 13, B.C. 56.

Letter I.

THIS and the following letters relate chiefly to the question, just then brought before the senate, of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes to his kingdom of Egypt. Lentulus, who after his consulate in 57 B.C. was now proconsul in Cilicia, had been appointed to restore him; but the commission was secretly coveted by Pompey. Party spirit ran high: the king's agents were busy. A Sibylline oracle was produced, favouring the restoration, if not effected with an army or by force of numbers. Eventually in B.C. 55 A. Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, undertook the enterprise. The history may be found in Merivale's translation of *Abeken*, p. 163, or in Forsyth's *Life of Cicero*, ch. xiv. I subjoin a passage from the epistles ad Quintum Fratrem, which supplies an abstract of the case.*

After Pompey and Crassus, whose names need no comment, the politicians mentioned in this letter are:—

Q. HORTENSIUS, the great advocate. Eight years older than Cicero. Died B.C. 50.

M. CALP. BIBULUS, Cos. in 79 and 48 B.C.

L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, Cos. 66 B.C.

M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, brother of Lucius the conqueror of Mithridates.

P. RUTILIUS LUPUS, a tribune.

L. AFRANIUS, Cos. with Metellus 60 B.C. Cp. Hor. C. 2. 1. 1. Spoken of contemptuously, ad Att. i. 16. 12; 18. 5; 20. 5.

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* De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine eum reduci periculosum reipublicae videri. Reliqua cum esset in senatu contentio, Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur. In ea re nos et officio erga Lentulum mirifice et voluntati Pompeii praeclare satisfecimus, sed per obtrectatores Lentuli (res) calumniâ extracta est. . . . . In ea re Pompeius quid velit, non dispicio: Familiares ejus quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore.—Ep. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 2. 3.

CN. CORN. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, Consul this year: very independent and influential; see Ep. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 1, and 2. 6. 4. In the beginning of the next letter he is called simply LENTULI CONSULIS.

L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, now first mentioned, but eventually a leader among the Pompeians. His daughter married Sextus Pompey; his sister (Scribonia) Augustus.

P. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS had been Quæstor to Pompey, but was banished under Pompey's law DE AMBITU in 52 B.C.

The various proposals before the Senate were those of:

I. HORTENSIUS, CICERO, and LUCULLUS; to commission LENTULUS, but without an army.

II. CRASSUS; to appoint three commissioners of official military rank.

III. BIBULUS; three private persons of no official rank (thereby excluding Pompey).

IV. SERVILIUS; to negative the whole question.

V. VOLCATIUS; to commission Pompey.

1. TUORUM . . MERITORUM. Cicero was under great obligation to Lentulus for the part he took when Consul, 57 B.C., in aiding his recall from exile.

SI QUI SUNT, &c. Kleyn corrects thus: SI QUI SUNT QUI VELINT PAUCI SUNT, ET QUI SUNT OMNES, etc., and supports his correction by reference to Ep. 2. 11. 2, and 15. 1. 5.

RELIGIONIS CALUMNIAM, '*the pretended oracle*' (Melmoth), respecting which cp. Lucan, 8. 824.

CAL., *a trick or pretext*. The meaning here may be illustrated from Ep. ad Att. 4. 3. 3: CALUMNIA DICENDI TEMPUS EXEMIT, i.e. *he spoke against time*. (See also Long's note on the Verres, 2. 1. 10.)

NON RELIGIONE, i.e. *not through any scruple*.

2. ACCUSARE, *to expostulate with*, and to warn him against the discredit attaching to the intrigues.

QUOD INSTITUIT . . . ET SÆPE, *since he has repeatedly moved this question*.

3. QUOD COMMODO REIP., '*provided you can do it consistently with the public interest*.' This is a formula of constant recurrence, see Cæsar, B.C. 1. 35 (and Long's note).

CUM IMPERIO SINT. Kleyn is surely right in his correction of SUNT for SINT. The sentence is quite definite, marking two distinct classes. Else we must, with many edd., read PRIVATI SINT.

INCLINATA RES EST=*matters are going against us*: INCLINARE from the s. of '*bending*' passes to that of '*throwing an upright body off its balance*,' and hence may mean, actively, '*to overpower*'; or, used passively, '*to give way, yield*': so, like the Greek κλίνω, ἐκκλίνω, it is commonly used of troops wavering: e.g. Liv. 1. 12; INCLINATUR (? INCLINATA) ACIES FUSAQUE EST. Ib. 3. 61; INCLINANDAM REM.

ORNASTI. ORNO is used of conferring honour in word or act, often of military or other promotion (as in Ep. 7. 5. 2, MITTE QUEM ORNEM). Here the reference is to the powers conferred on Pompey (Lentulo Consule, B.C. 57), described in Ep. ad Att. 4. 1. 7.

4. QUOD TIBI DEBEMUS, i.e. '*my obligations to you make my advice seem interested*'; cp. below, Ep. 1. 7. 2: *and my influence is counteracted by the dislike of Pompey's schemes*.

EXULCERATIS. Cp. de Orat. 2. 203, QUÆ SANARE NEQUEUNT EXULCERANT

=*they make matters worse.* The general meaning here is, 'I find our case complicated and prejudiced by the secret plans of some, and openly opposed with all the vehemence of party by others.'

SI ESSET, etc., *if I could trust those on whom I have a right to rely, I should have no difficulty.* The same complaint is made in Ep. 7. 2.

Letter II.—B.C. 56.

1. CANINII. L. Caninius Gallus; he was in favour of giving the commission to Pompey. Cicero defended him in 55 B.C. when impeached after his year of office.

MULTA V. FECIMUS, *I spoke at great length, and made, I think, a great impression on the house.*

BREVITER, the opposite of MULTA V.

DE RELIGIONE, i.e. *on the question of the oracle.* Bibulus's motion at first included this and the appointment of three commissioners; but it was determined that the two proposals should be taken separately (DIVIDERETUR).

FREQUENTES . . . OMNIA, i.e. *a large majority rejected the proposal*, as in Ep. 8. 13—10. 12. 3. Festus, p. 221, records the formula with an explanation: 'Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem;' his verbis praeit ominis videlicet causâ, ne dicat 'qui non censetis.' Connected with this technical euphemism is the phrase PEDIBUS IRE IN SENTENTIAM, Liv. 5. 9, to express *the giving assent*; and the word PEDARII distinguishing those senators who were admitted to the house with the right not of voting, but of tacitly ranging themselves on the side of their party.

2. DISCESSIONEM FACERE, *to divide the house.*

MULTIS PARTIBUS PLURES=MULTO PLURES. Our phrase 'many degrees more' resembles it, but could hardly be used of persons. Cp. Ep. viii. 9. 3.

3. HAC CONTROVERSIA. Orelli reads, HAEC . . . DUCTA (nom. c.).

HONESTISSIMUS, cp. below, Ep. 4. PULCHERRIME STAREMUS.

TRADUCERE (cp. above, RECONCILIATA), '*to bring over to our side.*'

UT POTEST, '*as far as possible.*' Other instances of this elliptic impersonal usage of the verb are in Ep. 1. 7. 7, POTERAT UTRUMQUE; and Tusc. D. 1. 23, SI POSSET: the like occurs in Terence; Phorm. 227, SI QUID POTEST: Andr. 327, SI ID NON POTEST: especially in the phrase QUANTUM POTEST, '*as soon as possible*,' Adelph. 350. 700. Analogous to this seems the use of SOLET in Ter. Eun. 957, and Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 28.

4. QUOD AD POPULAREM RATIONEM. The meaning is, 'We have gained the senate, and in the event of an appeal to the people we have means of counteraction, either by *auspicia* or LEGES, i.e. by prevailing on some one *obnuntiare*; or on some friendly tribune *intercedere*. Manutius quotes Cic. Phil. 1. 25: 'CUR . . . BONIS TRIB. PL. MALAS LEGES METUAT? PARATOS HABEMUS QUI INTERCEDANT; PARATOS, QUI REMP. RELIGIONE DEFENDANT.'

SENATUS AUCTORITAS GR. A formal resolution of the senate, i.e. a record of their decision, when invalidated, as it might be, by any irregularity in the meeting or constitution of the house; or by, more usually, the interposition of the tribunes: it was entered in the public records, with a certain force of public opinion but not of law.

We might compare with it the right of *protest* in our parliaments, but with this obvious difference, that a protest expresses the feeling of a minority, the AUCTORITAS the assent of a majority.

SENATUS CONSULTUM was a decree carried without opposition and valid; S. AUCTORITAS may be used in a general untechnical way for it, and sometimes the terms are combined thus: SENATUS CONSULTI AUCTORITAS. Compare on the subject, Livy, 4. 57: SI QUIS INTERCEDAT SENATUS CONSULTO, AUCTORITATE SE FORE CONTENTUM; and the State document in these Epistles, 8. 8. 6: SI QUIS HUIC S. C. INTERCESSISSET SENATUI PLACERE AUCTORITATEM PERSCRIBI ET DE EA RE AD SENATUM POPULUMQUE REFERRI.

INTERCESSIT, cp. Ep. 15. 2. 4, and 4. 13; here used of 'passing' a decree, but in the next clause of the tribunitian privilege of 'opposing' or 'vetoing' one.

CATO, not to be confounded with Marcus Porcius C. He was of the same gens, but his relationship is not known. He was tribune this year. Cicero (ad Qu. Fr. 1. 2. 15) calls him 'ADOLESCENS NULLIUS CONSILII SED TAMEN CIVIS ROMANUS ET CATO.' It was he who brought forward the Sibylline oracle; his activity at this time is mentioned in Ep. 4. and 5, where he is called LEVISSIMI HOMINIS. He is called PERENNIS INIMICUS, 1. 9. 2.

Letter III.—B.C. 56.

1. A TREBONIUS, apparently an eques; perhaps therefore a PUBLICANUS. His NEGOTIA might be matters of land tax or revenue, or of money lent. Cp. Ep. 12. 29.

EXPEDITA, the contrary of IMPEDITA, and so, *clear, easy of despatch.*

SPLENDORE. Manutius quotes Ep. 12. 26, and 27, and other instances, to show that Cicero uses this term as specially appropriate to the Equestrian order.

2. PROCURATORES, *agents.*

FAMILIAM=servos. Compare the jest passed upon the tribune Cato, Ep. ad Q. Fr. 2; 4. 5.

T. AMPIUS BALBUS was predecessor of Lentulus in the government of Cilicia; afterwards a prominent Pompeian. Cp. ad. Att. 8. xi.—ad Fam. 6, 12, TUBAM BELLI CIVILIS.

Letter IV.—B.C. 56.

1. CALUMNIIS. See 1. 1.

CAUSAM . . . OBTINEBAMUS. Cp. 1. 1. 3 (TENERI RES, etc., *we could not hold our ground otherwise*). Cp. below, Ep. 5. 3, and Ep. ad Att. 7. 25, CAUSAS OBTINUIT. Obtineo is not to be confounded with 'obtain' before the Silver age. Cp. below. Ep. 1; 7. 9.

The various readings here affect the sense. The old reading IN MAGNA, omitting NON and QUE, seems to imply the ellipse of CAUSARUM='*amid a variety of proposals*;' the omission of NON and acceptance of QUE in the text, viz. 'MAGNAQUE INV.,' implies a common relation of VARIETATE and INVIDIA=i.e. *an united and intense party action.* As the text stands I interpret VARIETATE of the senate. '*Thus we were, they saw* (ENIM), *maintaining our point, in a full house, little divided, though with violent opposition from the king's partisans.*' Orelli brackets QUE, and it would be better away.

CURIONEM. Compare what is said of the united action of Curio and Bibulus at this time in Ep. ad Quint. 2. 3. 2. This was Curio the father, of whom see note on Ep. 2. 2.

ANTE COMITIA, i.e. the elections in August. LEGEM PUPIAM. This was

a law regulating in some way the meetings of the senate; as is inferred from Ep. ad Qu. Fr. 2. 2, where in mentioning the CALUMNIA of Lentulus's opponents, Cicero says, 'CONSECUTI SUNT DIES COMITIALES PER QUOS SENATUS HABERI NON POTERAT.' Compare ad Qu. Fr. 2. 13. COMITIALIBUS DIRSUS, QUI QUIRINALIA (i.e. 13 Kal. Mart. Febr. 17) SEQUUNTUR, APPIUS INTERPRETATUR NON IMPEDIRI SE LEGE PUPIA QUOMINUS HABERAT SENATUM; ET, QUOD GABINIA SANCTUM SIT, ETIAM COGI EX KAL. FEBR. USQUE AD KAL. MART. LEGATIS SENATUM QUOTIDIE DARI.

PERF. AUT. R. LEGATIONIBUS, *until the foreign ambassadors have been received to audience or refused it.*

2. INVIDIS, used substantively, cp. below, 1. 9. 16, and 2. 9.

DIGNITATIS, i.e. no one thinks that you have been slighted . . . all know it was owing to your opponents that the division was not taken.

LATROCINIO, cp. Ep. ad Qu. Fr. 2. 2. 3: LATROCINIO TRIBUNORUM NULLAM PARTEM . . . ASSECUTUS, i.e. *I should not feel I had discharged half the obligations I owe you.*

A VI . . . IMBECILLITATE, *I cannot undertake to say that our cause is safe against a resort to violence, so weak are our authorities.*

Letter V. a.—*B.C.* 56.

1. EANDEM FIDEM, i.e. '*the same and no more.*'

IN MEA SALUTE, i.e. '*when my all was at stake,*' an allusion to his exile. Cicero recurs to the same comparison in Ep. 5. 2.

2. CATONIS. See above on Ep. 2. He proposed to recall Lentulus; as is stated Ep. ad Qu. 2. 3. 1. C. CATO LEGEM PROMULGAVIT DE IMPERIO LENTULO ABROGANDO.

3. SELICIUS, a private friend mentioned with several others as a money lender in Ep. Att. 1. 12, and again (in a passage corrupted in the old Edd.) 4. 18. 3: SELICIANAE UNCIAE.

NEQUE SELICIO. B. suggests 'fortasse, NEC Q. SELICIO;' and in the succeeding clause O. reads JACERE REGEM.

4. DETRAXERIT, cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 16. 24: DETULERIT FASCES; DETRAHET IDEM.

NEQUE AMANTIOREM TUI. This seems to be the natural close of the letter; but what follows was perhaps added as a postscript, and is included without a break in the old editions.

Letter V. b.

1. QUAE AGANTUR. Kl. reads AGUNTUR . . . SUNT, as in Ep. 4. 2. 3.

PRO MILONE. Clodius, now Aedile, had impeached Milo (DE VI) for his conduct in and out of the senate, and promotion of Cicero's recall at the beginning of B.C. 57: 'QUI GLADIATORIBUS EMPTIS REIPUBLICAE CAUSA OMNES PUBL. CLODII CONATUS FURORESQUE COMPRESSIT.' De Off. 2. 17. 4. (Compare the lengthened description in O. pro Sestio, 40. (86) sqq.)

The impeachment was brought forward on the 3rd of February (see Ep. ad Qu. 2. 3). MILO AFFUIT: EI POMPEIUS ADVOCATUS VENIT. The further hearing was postponed to the 6th; and then followed the extraordinary scene of uproar detailed in the letter to Quintus, and referred to here.

ET APUD POPULUM . . . IN SENATUQUE. This is an irregular construction, in which QUE is made to answer ET; nor is it quite so uncommon as is supposed; there is an instance in Cic. de Finibus, 5. 22. 64, where Madvig goes fully into the question, following the note up by an excursus at p. 786, explaining and classifying other anacolutha. The passages commonly quoted from Livy are, he shows, not to be depended one; the difficult one in Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 139, ET MIHI . . . INQUE VICEM he accepts as an instance of this license. I may observe that Hor. C. 3. 11. 21, QUIN ET IXION TITYOSQVE, is not such an instance; QUIN ET as proved by Virg. Aen. vi. 735 is =QUIN ETIAM. Compare Horace, C. 1. 28. 31, with Virg. xi. 50: FORS ET . . . CUMULATQUE. But it is difficult to explain away Virg. Aen. xi. 1, QUAM-QUAM ET . . . TURBATAQUE.

CLAMORE CONVITIOQUE. Compare the description of the scene when the audience turned upon Clodius: QUI ANTEA CANTORUM CONVITIO CONTIONES CELEBRARE SUAS SOLEBAT (=to pack the popular assemblies with hired partisans), Or. pro Sest. 55. (118).

2. TARDITATEM . . . TACITURNITATEM. Observe these traits in Pompey's character.

Letter VI.—B.C. 56.

POLLIONE. Although proof of identity is wanting, we may conclude this to be the well-known C. Asinius Pollio. He was one of Cicero's correspondents (see Ep. 10. 31, 32, 33); but being barely twenty now, it seems strange to find him spoken of as having taken a prominent part in political transactions. Still it is clear that he entered warmly into politics, since he signalised himself two years later by prosecuting C. Cato for his conduct of this year. It may be fairly conjectured, apart from the feeling which would lead the Senatorian party to encourage any rising man of talent (cp. De Orat. 1. 7. 25), Pollio might have been drawn towards Cicero, and also brought under his notice, by his literary tastes. Eventually he took Caesar's side, and as early as B.C. 50 he was high in his favour and friendship. His versatility of genius and character are well hit off in Horace, C. 2. 1.

INTERFUIT . . . PRAEFUIT. The same phrase is used in Ep. 8. of Plaetorius.

2. AFFLICTA EST. The indicative is necessary here as in VIOLATUR, but SIT is found in many editions; a false reading arising from confusion with the form ST. (See more instances in Madvig, on De Finibus, iii. 17. 58.) Compare the v. l. in Ep. 2. 5. 1, and 2. 6. 3.

A TENERIS . . . UNGUICULIS, cp. Hor. C. 3. 6. 24, and note.

Letter VII.—B.C. 56.

1. ALTERUM UT TE . . . DILIGAM . . . UT PER LITTERAS . . . COLLOQUAR, i.e. *the one thing*, viz. *regard for you, is a matter of necessity with me; the other*, viz. *communication with you, is a matter of inclination.* UT in each case is epexegetical.

Compare the like idiom in DE ORAT, 1. 7. 28, QUOD ILLE . . . FECIT, UT SE ABJICERET IN HERBAM (i.e. what he did, namely, throw himself on the grass). Cp. Ib. 16. 70, IN HOC . . . NULLIS UT TERMINIS CIRCUMSCRIBAT, etc.

So Terent. Andr. 56 (1. 1. 29), QUOD PLERIQUE . . . FACIUNT . . . UT ANIMUM AD ALIQUOD STUDIUM ADJUNGANT,

CERTORUM HOMINUM, i.e. *safe messengers.* Cicero makes frequent reference to the uncertainty of the post. See again Ep. 9. 23.

2. INVIDISSE . . . LAUDIS INIMICI. Cp. INVIDIAM SUPREMO FINE DOMARI: URIT ENIM FULGORE SUO, etc. Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 12.

EX MAGISTRATIBUS. Racilius had been distinguished by his efforts for Cicero's return. He was now tribune.

Manutius remarks on this passage that (in conjunction with De Orat. 1. 7. 25, and others) it disproves the assertion made by Plutarch, and countenanced, he says, by Livy, that the tribune's office was not a MAGISTRATUS. But it seems improper to cite Livy as implying anything of the kind. It is true he makes (B. 2. 56) Appius call Laetorius 'PRIVATUM . . . SINE IMPERIO SINE MAGISTRATU;' yet, as a few sentences before he had called him NON POPULI SED PLEBIS MAGISTRATUM, it is clear that he refuses him the title only beyond a certain limit—beyond, that is, the limits of the plebeian order. He allows that JUS ESSE TRIBUNO . . . IN PLEBEIUM, but denies his jurisdiction over patricians.

PROPTER MAGN. BENEF. This is the same sentiment as in Ep. 1. 4, QUOD TIBI DEBEMUS.

3. PRAETEREA. Kleyn's correction, PRAETER EOS, seems called for, unless the adverb can bear the same sense. Cp. for meaning Ep. 5 b. 2.

HUMANITAS TUA, *the good feeling you showed.* Perhaps we might correctly translate '*your tact.*' The meaning is that Lentulus by a well-timed and judicious letter had held Pompey to his interests just when he was becoming apprehensive of a rupture between them. With RETINUISTI cp. below § 7, RETINERE.

CANINIANO, i.e. when Caninius (see Ep. 2) had given grounds for suspicion SUAE CUP. *sc.* that Pompey was secretly desirous of, and intriguing for, this command.

ORNAMENTIS, cp. ORNÂSTI, Ep. 1. 3, and note.

4. SIC HABETO='*In what I write understand this.*' SIC is idiomatically and elegantly used to introduce a subsequent clause; e.g. De Rep. 6. 13, SIC HABETO=*be sure of this*; Ib. 26, Ep. ad Fam. 2. 3. 1, and 2. 6. ad fin. UNUM HOC SIC HABETO, ME . . . DEBITURUM, Ib. 2. 10. 1.

DE, *out of*, i.e. *in accordance with.* Cp. Ep. 7. 13. 2. DE vestris cautionibus, i.e. *to advise you in the spirit of your own formulae*; to take a leaf out of your own book, and act as your counsellor.

EXSTAT . . . VIM HABET; v. l. EXSTET . . . HABEAT. Sch. M. Lag.

AUCTORITAS. See above Ep. 2.

TANTAM VIM (i.e. only so much=) *so little.*

STUDIUM, *the party effort of angry opponents rather than the deliberate judgment of the house.*

FACULTATEM HABITURA, *likely to be practicable.* Cp. ad Att. 8. 11. 6, ejus rei facultatem, si quae erit.

5. EX EVENTU. Cp. Ov. Her. 2. 85:

Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

The Medicean MS. gives EVENTO; wrongly, since it gives EVENTU further down; but either form is legitimate. Cf. below § 9, Ep. 5. 12. 6. Similarly we find both SENATUS and SENATI, as in Ep. 2. 7. 4.

OFFENSUM, *if any step is made*, i.e. if you are unsuccessful; cp. below, in the same sense, OFFENSIONEM.

6. QUID RES. Cp. above Ep. 5. 3, RE, CAUSAQUE.

7. DE NOSTRO STATU, *of my own position*. In this and the following section, Cicero turns from Lentulus's affairs to his own.

LEVITATE. We may interpret this as qualified and explained by IMBECILLITATE. Cp. LEVISSIMI, Ep. 5. ad. fin. But, below, LEVITAS is *changeableness, want of fixed steady principle*; opposed to FIDES and GRAVITAS.

TUIS . . . OPERIBUS, i.e. all I have is your work. Cp. TUORUM MERITORUM in Ep. 1, and below TEMPORIBUS IIS . . . PER TE.

COMMUNI CAUSA . . . SENTENTIA. He is speaking here of his general line and principles of policy.

POTERAT. On this elliptic usage see note on Ep. 2. 4.

8. INVISUM ESSE. *The dislike, or jealousy, felt was not to my want of caste.*

NOVITATI is here contrasted with NOBILISSIMO. Cicero was NOVUS ARPINAS IGNOBILIS. See Juvenal, Sat. 8. 237; cp. v. 253, NOBILIS QUEM TAMEN, MSS. TAMEN ETSI, QUEM TAMETSI, Sch. M. Lag.

DISSIMILEM ESSE FORTUNAM, i. e. '*the parallel extends no further.*' Melmoth.

9. EMONEO. *E* seems to have an intensive force; the compound is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

QUANTO EXPRESSIORA = *in how much stronger relief.*

ALTISSIMUM GRADUM. Cp. Orat. de Domo, 98.

ADEPTUS . . . OBTINERE, i.e. No doubt you are sensible that though difficult to *attain*, it is easy to *maintain*, the most distinguished position. The true sense of OBTINERE as distinct from ADIPISCI (viz. to hold in possession) is well marked in this sentence. But the reverse order of the words in Cic. de Leg. 1. 59, AD OBTINENDAM ADIPISCENDAMQUE SAPIENTIAM, can only be accounted for (as by Madvig on De Fin. 2. 22. 71) as a corruption, or ὑστερολογία.

10. LEGE SEMPRONIA, *that no successor should be appointed as required by the S. law*; a law passed by C. Gracchus B.C. 123, enacting that every year the senate should allot the provinces to the consuls on the eve of their election.

LITTERIS OMNIBUS: LITT. OPTIMIS, Sch.; OMNIBUS OPTIMIS, M. Lag. '*malim*, LITT. COMMUNIBUS, cf. De Orat 2. 72.' O.

11. CRASSIPEDE. Furius Crassipes married Tullia, after the death of her first husband Piso. See Ep. ad Qu. 2. 5, and 6.

LENTULUM NOSTRUM, i.e. the son of Lentulus, who had come of age the year before; eulogised with his father in the speech Pro Sestio 69 (144). See also mention of him Ep. ad Qu. 2. 3. 1, and Ad Fam. 7. 26. 2. Metella (Horat. S. 2. 3. 239) was his wife.

Letter VIII.—January, B.C. 55.

M. PLAETORIO. M. Plaetorius Cestianus, chiefly known by his impeachment of Fonteius, B.C. 69, who was defended by Cicero in a speech still extant. He was praetor in B.C. 67, and is mentioned Ad Att. 5. 20. 8, as

condemned, on a trial for provincial extortions, it is supposed. The MSS. give the name in a curiously corrupt form, EX EMPLAETORIO or EXEMPLATORIO. Manutius corrected it. Probably, as was often the case, the copyist took down the text from dictation, and mistook the reader's M. PLAET. for a single name. So in Ep. 1. 3, T. AMPIUS is TAMPIUS in MS.; and in Ep. 2. 10, etc. M. CELIO appears as MARCELLIO or MARCELLO.

AMICORUM, i.e. the Triumvirs.

HAC HOMINUM AETATE, i.e. *in our generation.*

AD EJUS RATIONES. *I attach myself to his* (i.e. Pompey's) *interests, whose aid you courted in promoting mine* (viz. in effecting my recall).

2. SENSUM IN REPUBLICA, *political principle.* Cp. Lael. 103, DE REPUBLICA CONSENSUS, i.e. political sympathy. So too Ep. 1. 9. 6, SENTENTIIS DE REP. This sentence is important in its apologetic meaning: '*I cannot easily abandon a line of action sincerely adopted and long held, yet I would myself to the exigencies of party.*' See Merivale's *Abeken*, p. 171. Forsyth says (p. 246), 'He never really trusted Pompey, though he liked him, and looked on him as the chief stay of the conservative party . . . He struggled hard to believe that Pompey was the man for the time, but he constantly disappointed him.'

ANIMI INDUCTIO, i.e. *the bias of my mind.*

POSSENT. Al. POSSINT. Either construction may stand, but the present tense would express simply the fact, ('*since they cannot*') the imperfect, their consciousness of it.

3. REFERAM LITTERARUM. Kl. *del.* LITTERARUM.

NEC MIHI MAGIS. SED precedes NEC in all the editions before Baiter, whom I follow. The authority is Madvig, in his III. Excursus de Finibus, showing that NEC is not=NE . . QUIDEM.

NULLA CUM GRAVITATE, i.e. *inconsistently.* Cp. 1. 7. 7, GRAVITAS . . . LEVITAS.

4. OTIUM . . EXOPTANDUM EST. Is this the germ of OTIUM DIVOS ROGAT, etc., Hor. C. 2. 16?

NIHIL EST QUOD COGITEMUS, i.e. *it is hopeless to think of maintaining the true dignity of a statesman.*

EORUM QUI. These are seemingly the same as QUIDAM HOMINES. Cicero complains here (1.) of the opposition to the Equites, whom he says (Ad Att. 1. 17. 9) he not only tolerated but justified in their fanciful claim of right. They had made a contract, as PUBLICANI, but in their eagerness had bid too high (CUPIDITATE PROLAPSOS NIMIUM MAGNO CONDUXISSE). Cicero in his desire to conciliate them (see what he says Ep. 1. 9. 26) supported their request. It was rejected, and the result was what Cicero laments here and Ad Att. 1. 18. 3, ALIENATI EQUITES. This was in B.C. 61. (2.) Of the refusal of the Senate, led by Lucullus and Crassus, to ratify Pompey's acts in Asia, see Merivale's *Abeken*, p. 84. This led to Pompey's union with Caesar, who undertook to have them confirmed, and reconciled him also with Crassus.

Caesar in like manner won over the knights, and effected for them the concession they desired.

6. NULLAM . . . MINIMAM. Lambinus proposes VEL M. Kleyn, ETIAM MINIMAM, as in Ep. 12. 16. 1.

NULLAM PARTEM. Cp. above, Ep. 1. 4. 3.

7. BENE GESSISSE. This refers to a victorious campaign, of which nothing

is known except that Lentulus was allowed a triumph for it in B.C. 51 (Ad Att. 5. 21. 4), and in consequence of it Cicero gives him the title Imperator in the next letter.

CONVENIENDIS. The Senate had the power of granting or withholding a triumph, and influential senators were canvassed for their vote and interest accordingly. Cicero's own application to Cato (Ep. 15. 4) is an instance. Therefore he now promises Lentulus to call upon the official and leading statesmen (as soon as the report is confirmed by his despatches) and solicit their consent to his expected claim.

Letter IX.—October, B.C. 54.

This long and remarkable letter contains the writer's laboured apology for political inconsistencies. He had made friends with Caesar (Lentulus, we may infer, had remonstrated with him), and had clinched the matter by defending his old enemy Vatinius. Forsyth (p. 268, sqq.) states the circumstances and epitomises the argument. See also *Abeken*, p. 192, sqq.

1. PIETATEM This word seems strictly to express *dutiful affection and regard*. In this case I should translate it *devotion*.

LEVIUS . . . MERITIS, i.e. *too slight to express my obligations*.

GRATA . . . GRATA. There is a nicety in these terms to be observed; the general sense is: You thank me. It shows the freeness of your generosity to thank me for doing what I could not leave undone without base ingratitude. The word reminds one of Horace's difficult, because equivocal, phrase—GRATUM JUVAT. Sat. 2. 6. 13.

TEMPORE OMNI. Lentulus went to Cilicia (directly after his consulship) in B.C. 56, and returned B.C. 53. He was then succeeded by Appius, and he by Cicero.

2. IMPERATOREM. See the last letter, and the heading of this.

INIMICUS, Cato, see above, Ep. 2. ult.

QUI TUIS MAXIMIS, etc. = *after all your friendly acts he pointed against you his weak and broken efforts, and has thereby brought down on himself, instead of leaving it to us, condign punishment*, i.e., he has so discredited himself by his ingratitude that he cannot show his face.

FRACTAM ET DEBILITATAM, a Ciceronian double phrase. Cp. ad Att. 12, 38. 3.

NOSTRAM VICEM. This word calls for some observations. Its primary meaning is sometimes misstated, and the distinctive meaning of the singular and plural number overlooked.

It means: 1. *Part, share, office, position*; the μέρος of oneself or another individually. This involves the idea of *alternation, my turn, your turn*, and hence comes the meaning: 2. *Change, interchange, succession*; and 3. Change from good to evil, *reverses of fortune, retribution*. But this last class of meanings is nearly peculiar to the plural number; the instances of the singular thus used are extremely rare in the best writers. My first instances of gen. and abl. I need not specify.

1. ALIENAE VICIS, Liv. VICE COTIS, Hor.

2. VICE SERMONUM, Virg. VICE VERIS, Hor.

3. PLUS VICE SIMPLICI (i.e. *requital*), Hor. VICE FORTUNARUM, Liv. 7, 21.

To proceed now to the accusative sing. Except in particular phrases it

is very rare to find it used otherwise than according to a semi-adverbial elliptic construction.

INVICEM is common, and answers nearly to PER VICES and VICIBUS FACTIS, Ovidian terms.

I class with these, REDDE VICEM, REFERRE VICEM=*to render tit for tat= to do on your part what another has done on his.* So NOXQUE VICEM PERAGIT, Ov. Met., which Gierig calls a military metaphor, *takes its turn.*

The following quotations show the general idiom:

This badge of power passed to all in turn, SUAM CUJUSQUE VICEM, Liv. 3. 36.

SESE EXCRUCIARI MEAM VICEM POSSIT PATI, Plaut. Most. 2. 1. 8 (i.e. *in my place*).

RESPONDETOTE ISTARUM VICEM, ib. Rud. 3. 5. 34 (=*as if in their stead*).

NE NOSTRAM VICEM IRASCARIS. Liv. 34, 32.

VALDE ET MEAM ET VESTRAM VICEM TIMEAM, Cic. ad Fam. xi. 19.

IPSIUS VICEM MINIME DOLEMUS, Cic. ad Att. 4. 6.

TUAM VICEM SAEPE DOLEO, QUOD NULLAM PARTEM . . . GUSTARE POTUISTI, Cic. ad Fam. 12. 23 (=*on your account, as if I were in your place*).

VICEM SUAM CONQUESTUS EST QUOD SIBI SOLI NON LICERET, etc., Suet. Aug. 66.

. . . MENEDEMI VICEM

MISERET ME, Ter. Heaut. 754.

VICEM is also used often=INSTAR. But I know of only one passage where VICEM is, *beyond doubt*, an objective accusative, viz. Phaedrus, 5. 1. 6.

The last-quoted passage of Terence I venture to class with the preceding quotations in spite of Wagner's great authority. The citation from Suetonius I should not make, on account of his date as a writer, but that it is generally interpreted as against my theory, whereas I think it a parallel to the Ciceronian sentence preceding it.

I now come to three perplexing passages.

Liv. 1. 2: EXANIMES VICEM UNIUS.

Hor. Epod. 17. 42: INFAMIS HELENAE CASTOR OFFENSUS VICEM.

In these two VICEM is a correction by critics for VICE.

This note has gone so far, and the case appears to me so probable, that I will only state the point at issue.

VICEM=on account of (compare τοὐκείνου μέρος, Eur. Hec. 989), makes good sense. Those who uphold the MS. VICE have to construe it *danger, degradation*, and to show that it ever bears that meaning.

The third passage is HUMANAM VICEM, Hor. Epod. 5. 88.

From the quotations above selected, which might be greatly multiplied, I infer that we may not ordinarily interpret VICEM as an objective or independent accusative. I have also while comparing the above examples observed that even in its adverbial usage it attaches itself to the nominative or subject, not to the accusative case, and therefore I give up the interpretation I have hitherto adopted, which connects HUMANAM VICEM with FAS NEFASQUE; according to the usual punctuation it must connect itself with VENENA. but I hesitate to strain the phrase to the extent which this requires. I incline now to believe that the colon should be placed after CONVERTERE: and that HUMANAM may *begin* the next clause, with a general meaning of this kind: *Witcheries cannot overpower the Divine law: I, qua homo=in the name of man, appealing to the rights of humanity, draw down a curse on you: a curse no ceremonies can atone.*

The idiom here affirmed takes its rise seemingly from a condensation in language. Thus, NOSTRAM V. ULTUS EST SE may be properly = VICEM EXPLEVIT ULTUS, *vel* ULCISCENDO, SE: and MENEDEMI VICEM ME MISERET = MEN. VICEM SUSTINEO MISERITUS EJUS *vel* ITA UT EJUS ME MISEREAT, *I have a fellow feeling for him.*

3. DE QUA RATIONE. This is a very adroit introduction to the main subject of the letter. Cicero had to justify himself to Lentulus, to account for compromise, to shift the blame, if any, from himself upon the instability of times or persons. 'You see by this instance of Cato (he says) how little reliance can be placed on any man. I am glad you have not to buy the experience so dearly as I did. The thought leads me to enlarge upon the subject and to reply to you in a full explanation of what you ask.'

4. APPIO. This is Appius Claudius Pulcher, to whom the letters of the 3rd Book are addressed. He was brother of Clodius, Cicero's enemy.

VATINIUM. Publius Vatinius was tribune in B.C. 59, and a zealous partisan of Caesar. It was his bill LEX VATINIA which conferred on Caesar his five years' government in Gaul. Cicero, when advocate for Sestius, made a furious attack on him as a witness on the opposite side, INTERROGATIO IN VATINIUM. But when Vatinius, who was raised to the prætorship in the next year, B.C. 55, was, on the expiration of his office, impeached under the LEX LICINIA DE SODALICIIS, i.e. for bribery, Cicero defended him, and bore testimony to his character. Such testimonies, LAUDARE, LAUDATIO, had become usual in the law courts at Rome. Cicero afterwards corresponded with him, Ep. 5, 9, 10, 11. Catullus has a sarcasm on him, C. 52. 3.

EGO ME, LENTULE. Observe this formal elaborate beginning.

INITIO RERUM, etc., i.e. *when you first interested yourself for me*, viz. *in my recall.*

ALICUI . . . BENEFICIO. A v. l. is ALIQUO. The sense is, *As I owed much to you, so to my country, seconding your efforts as it did, I felt bound to show that regard at least, which was dictated by patriotism, had it not been due for special benefits conferred.*

DEBITUM is not necessary to the sense, yet it has its force, and ALICUI naturally joins on to it. Otherwise BENEFICIO, as well as MERITO, would stand properly in the ablative.

5. DE RELIQUA, etc. For an account of Cicero's objects and anxieties after his restoration. See Abeken, p. 158 sqq.; or Forsyth, p. 207 sqq.

DE MONUMENTIS. Cp. below, § 15, NON MEUM MONUMENTUM, etc. This expression comprises Cicero's own house on the Palatine; the temple to Liberty erected just below it by a decree of the Senate after the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy; and the portico, adjoining the house, erected by Catulus out of the spoils of the Cimbri. Part of these buildings Clodius destroyed, erased their inscriptions, appropriated the site, raised and dedicated a new portico or temple, surmounted by a statue of Liberty. (The account of these things is rhetorically given in the speech De Domo, 100 sqq.) The senate decreed the rebuilding of Cicero's house (cp. De Harusp. Resp. 16), and compensation; but VALDE ILLIBERALITER, Ad Att. 4. 2. 5.

VI NEFARIA. See Ad Att. 4. 3. 2.

7. LAUDARET. See the note above on Vatinius; cp. LAUDATIONEM, § 19.

P. SESTIUM (see Forsyth, p. 223). Pompey held an IMPERIUM, his Com-

mission of Supply, and was therefore debarred from entering Rome, except by permission. (See § 25.)

EAM BIBULI. '*Fort.* EAM M. BIBULI.' O. (Cp. v. l. Ep. 1. 5. 3.)

EODEM TESTE, '*in his* (Pompey's) *presence.*'

BIBULUM. Of the violence offered to him see mention in the Interrogatio in Vatinium, 9. 21 and 10. 24.

DE AUSPICIIS. Cp. Ad Att. 9. 2, QUI AUSPICIA QUI ÆLIAM LEGEM . . . NEGLEXERUNT. The LEGES ÆLIA and FUFIA gave the magistrates the right of OBNUNTIATIO (vainly exercised by Bibulus in opposing the measures of Vatinius and Cæsar—DE CŒLO SEMPER NE SERVASSET, De Har. Resp. 48).

DONATIONE REGNORUM. Ad Att. 9. 2, QUI REGNA QUI PRAEDIA TETRARCHIS . . . DEDERUNT. Cp. In Vatin. 29. The particular instances here alluded to cannot be specified: the frequency of them is implied in the attack on Clodius, REGUM APPELLATIONES VENALES ERANT, De Domo, 129.

8. CONSTANTER SAEPE—CONSTANTER AC SAEPE. Sch. M. Lag.

DE AGRO CAMPANO, viz. Caesar's Agrarian law. See Abeken, pp. 172–3.

IN ARCEM . . . INVADERE, i.e. Could I have made a more direct attack upon their party, forgetting my misfortunes, holding to my principles?

QUORUM OPORTUIT. It was natural for Caesar to be offended, but Pompey was no less so, as appeared from his expostulation with Quintus Cicero.

10. ET CUM TAMEN. 'FORTE *cum item,*' is the suggestion here of Orelli. 'MALIM *cum tandem,*' says Baiter. The question raised by the proposed corrections seems to be the same as that in the well known MULTAE TAMEN ARTIS of Ep. ad Quint. 2. 11 discussed by Forsyth, p. 248 (note), and by Munro on Lucret., vol. 2, preface. The two passages, according to the MS. reading, may support each other.

INTEGRUM, i.e. *full liberty of action, that I should not commit myself to any decided course.* Cp. below, § 21, INTEGRA OMNIA AC LIBERA, and SOLUTISSIMA; so again, Ep. 2. 3. 1.

COLLEGI ME. A frequent Ciceronian phrase.

QUOS JAM DEBES S. *You must know whom I mean.* 'Catonem imprimis, Bibulum, L. Domitium.' Manut.

REFERERANTUR, AFFERERANTUR. Sch. M. Lag. '*Malim,* DEFER. *vel* PERFERERANTUR ut § 20.'—O.

SENTIRENT QUAE AGEBAM. *Were of the same politics.* SENTIRE=φρονεῖν. Cp. § 21: EADEM SENSURUM FUISSE = *I should have followed the same course.*

INIMICUM. Sc. Clodius.

STOMACHUM . . . QUEM. *They could not, indeed stir anger in me, a feeling which I have wholly lost.* Cp. below, § 20: QUOD EGO EFFUDISSE, etc. Cp. also Ad Att. 4. 16. 10.

RATIONIBUS SUBDUCTIS, SUMMAM. These are arithmetical metaphors, '*I cast up the account, and found the sum total.*' Cp. Terent. Adelph. 855.

11. NON PUTAVI. *I had no great reason to fear the imputation of 'ratting.'*

12. COMPLECTENDUS ERAT. *I was obliged to include Caesar, bound together as both were in party and position.*

BREVI TEMPORE, i.e. *lately,* antithetical to VETUS.

PLATONEM. The germ of this saying is thought to be in Leges 4. 4. p. 111, 11. 345. Μήδεις ἡμᾶς πειθέτω, κ.τ.λ.

NONIS. The 5th of December, B.C. 63, was the day on which the vote against Catiline was taken. Cp. Pro Flacco, 40. 102.

CAESAREM ET BIBULUM CONSULES = the year 59 B.C.

13. MERCATORES PROV. Cp. Or. post redit. ad Quir. 21, Pro Sestio, 10. 24, and esp. De Domo, 55.

UT JAM SIT . . . CULPA = *though they evidently were guilty; though we own at once* (jam) *they were in fault.* The force of JAM may be seen above, Ep. 8. 2: QUAE ILLI UTILIA . . . EA MIHI JAM RECTA, etc. = *whatever advances his interests begins to seem right in my eyes*; JAM = *forthwith.*

QUORUM QUIDAM ANIMUM. *And this general feeling.*

14. RESTITUENDO . . . Cp. Ad Att. 8. 3. 3: RESTITUENDI MEI QUAM RETINENDI STUDIOSIOR, sc. Pompeius. Schutz and M. Lag. read IN RETINENDO here.

RECREATIS = θαρσήσασι.

ADJUNGERETUR AD . . . *was willing to support.*

15. FURIA. FUR is a conjectural v. l. which Forsyth (p. 270) renders '*that thief of female mysteries.*' But FURIA is intelligible, and is a term applied to Clodius in the Pro Sestio, 33 and 39.

The trial of Clodius on the occasion mentioned here is described Ad Att. 1. 16.

QUAM SORORES. Cicero is never tired of bringing up this charge; he even jests on it in repartees (Ad Att. 2. 1). Forsyth may be referred to, p. 144 and 239.

EST ILLORUM. M. has STILLORUM, i.e. ST pro EST.

TRIBUNUS, viz. T. Annius Milo, who impeached Clodius DE VI, but before he carried his point the Comitia were held, in which Clodius was elected aedile, and no longer liable to trial. The grounds of accusation are detailed Ad Att. 4. 3. 2; the discussion in the senate CUM COMITIA JUDICIIS ANTEFERRET, Ad Qu. Fr. 2. 1. 2.

MANUBIAE. *They were no spoils of mine, though the conduct of the work was.* Cicero as consul LOCABAT OPUS, just as the rebuilding of what Clodius had destroyed was carried on, EX SENATUS CONSULTO CONSULUM LOCATIONE, Ad Att. 4. 3. 2, and Ib. 4. 2. 5.

HOSTILI NOMINE. Cp. De Har. Resp. 58: VESTRIS MONUMENTIS SUUM NOMEN INSCRIPSIT.

ALIPTAE. *Trainers.*

INCHOATAM. M. INCOHATAM.

16. Q. METELLO. Metellus Numidicus, cos. 109 B.C., censor 102 B.C., driven into exile by the intrigues of Marius and Saturninus; recalled next year B.C. 90. by the rogatio of the tribune Calidius.

OCTO TRIBUNIS. This is the ingenious correction by Schutz of the corruption OMNIBUS in MSS. He compares Or. pro Sestio, 32. 70. The number of tribunes after 457 B.C. was ten.

17. NEQUE . . . POSTEA. The sense is: 'I have not been rendered arrogant in consequence; I only desire to be useful. Still some are jealous of my credit who know not the anxiety and the exertions it has cost me. And they carp at my support of Caesar, as if I were a renegade from the good old cause.

NON IN POSTREMIS = in primis = *I have said what was my general aim, but*

I hold to this also as a most important point. The expression is like Ov. Trist. 5. 8. 38, HAEC SUNT A PRIMIS PROXIMA VOTA MIHI.

CONFIRMATUS. Cp. above, §12, CONFIRMANDI SENATUS.

FRONTE. Cp. Ad Att. 4. 15. 7, UTRUM FRONTE AN MENTE.

NOSTRO ILLO STATU, *When I was in my glory.* Cp. Ep. 1. 7. 7, Att. 4. 1. 3, IN NOSTRO STATU QUOD DIFFICILLIME RECUPERARI POSSE ARBITRATI SUMUS, SPLENDOREM . . . AUCTORITATEM . . . GRATIAM CONSECUTI SUMUS.

SENTENTIA TABELLAQUE, *sentiments and suffrages.* SENTENTIA is a correction by Manutius for SENSU, and it suits better with TABELLA; yet SENSU, according to the meaning it bears in Ep. 8. 2, is not indefensible.

18. PLATO. The quotation is from Crito, 12, *ad fin.* p. 1. 11. 161.

NEQUE DESIPIENTE. *My course was neither embarrassed by popular folly nor by its being an open question whether I should embark in politics.*

NUNC IN TANTA FELICITATE. See the spirited passage on the subject of the speech De Provinciis in Forsyth, pp. 230, 231.

SIC. See note above on Ep. 7. 4.

19. STATIM UT. UT is not strictly dependent on STATIM, as if it were=AC or ATQUE. The disconnection of the two words may be seen in Ad Att. 12. 18. 1, UT HERI ME SALUTAVIT STATIM ROMAM PROFECTUS EST. SIMUL AC might stand in the place of UT, as in Ad Att. 15. 12. 1, STATIM AUTEM SE ITURUM SIMUL AC . . . TRADIDISSET. The analogous but rare combination of SIMUL UT may be thus explained. See Madvig on De Fin. 2. 11. 33.

NE . . . IDEM REPONAM, *lest I return the compliment.* Cp. Juv. 1. 1, NUNQUAMNE REPONAM.

ILLE STIMULUS. *I had another motive,* viz. one of opposition to my false friends: as they caressed my foe I resolved to side with theirs, and to sting them for their attacks.

SEVERE SEDUCERENT, *gravely took him aside.*

20. TAMEN . . . TULISSEM. *Still I could have borne it.*

TAMEN=ὅμως.

The justification here is curious and intricate: *I had made friends with Crassus, then I was annoyed by his unexpected defence of my enemy Gabinius, and still more by his reflections on myself, and I gave vent to my indignation in reply. Advantage was taken of this by partisans who desired that there should be a permanent breach between us. On the other hand, Pompey and Caesar were most anxious to make it up.*

QUOS NUTU, etc., *whom I have often hinted at.* The authority for NUTU is doubtful: it is perhaps a gloss. QUE is frequently interpolated in MSS., as below, § 25, LEGEMQUE.

FRUCTUM. They acknowledged that my free speaking had been of public service, and I had gained golden opinions from all sorts of men (FORIS); still they took a malicious pleasure in the enmity I incurred.

ITA UT NIHIL UMQUAM MAGIS=quam maxime.

NATURAE. *I took warning from experience, and also obeyed the dictates of my nature.* We may very well accept this as a truth: Cicero was certainly of a peaceable and amiable disposition.

TESTATA. Used passively, as in the Verres, 2. 2. 76, UT RES QUAM MAXIME CLARA AC TESTATA ESSE POSSET.

CONDIXISSET, i.e. *he invited himself to dine with me.*

EJUS CAUSAM . . . DEFENDI. Crassus, having obtained Syria for his

province, was forming schemes of the wildest ambition. And there was undoubtedly great alarm and concern felt at Rome on the subject of his expedition. The extreme measure of Ateius Capito, denouncing him at the gate, is well-known. We may, therefore, well understand that there was vehement debate in the senate, in which he needed Cicero's support. He set out some weeks before the expiration of his consulship, in November. Manutius conjectures that the new consuls proposed his recall. Cicero, in his letter to him, Ep. 5. 8, speaks of PROPUGNATIONEM PRO OMNIBUS ORNAMENTIS, which may mean the decrees for his '*outfit*,' according to the technical sense of ORNARE PROVINCIAM, or CONSULEM.

MAGNA ILLIUS COMMENDATIONE, *in consequence of his* (i.e. Caesar's) *pressing it so strongly.*

21. TEMPORIBUS ASSENTIENDUM = *to temporise.*

TEMPESTATI OBSEQUI = *to trim.*

NON IDEM DICERE SED . . . SPECTARE. *We must hold to the same objects, not necessarily to the same party cries.*

FACILE PATIOR ME, etc. *I find no difficulty in*, etc.

ITA ILLUSTRI GRATIA, *in so marked a manner as to show he felt under real obligation to me.* Cp. the statement, Ad Att. 4. 16. 13.

22. IN CETEROS = *ἑτέρους, the opposite party.*

POTESTAS PRAESENTIS TUI, i.e. *when I have you back again.*

TIBI . . . DIGNITAS CURAE. *You shall be the guardian of my honour as you have been of my life.* SALUS is used as in Ep. 5. a.

23. QUOD ROGAS. Cicero now turns to matters of private interest. First he promises to forward his recent speeches by Menocritus, a freedman. Then he mentions his last work, the De Oratore, which he recommends with an assumed modesty to young Lentulus; spoken of before in Ep. 7, *ad fin.*

NE PERTIMESCAS. On this construction, which is properly a dependent one, see Hor. C. 1. 33. 1, NE DOLEAS, and note.

ARISTOTELIO MORE. This term is explained Ad Att. 13. 19. 4, as expressing a form of dialogue, IN QUO SERMO ITA INDUCITUR CETERORUM UT PENES IPSUM SIT PRINCIPATUS. But this does not describe the De Oratore, in which, as Cicero says in the preceding sentence, PUERO ME HIC SERMO INDUCITUR UT NULLAE ESSE POSSENT PARTES MEAE. Some other explanation therefore is needed here to make Cicero consistent with himself. Manutius supposes him to indicate some refinements in method, his pretention to which he qualifies by the saving clause QUEMADMODUM QUIDEM VOLUI. Madvig, De Fin. praef. p. lviii., thinks the choice of dialogue as the form for such a treatise may be meant.

COMMUNIBUS. Cp. De Oratore, 1. 31. 138, where Crassus expounds the COMMUNIA ET CONTRITA PRAECEPTA, *the broad general rules of rhetoric.*

ISOCRATIAM. A manual of rhetoric by Isocrates is mentioned De Invent. 2. 7, CUJUS IPSIUS QUAM CONSTAT ESSE ARTEM·NON INVENIMUS. There is a particular account and eulogy of him in Brutus, 8. 32, sqq.

TRES LIBROS DE TEMPORIBUS MEIS. Of this poem the existing fragments are given in Quintilian, ix. 4. 41; xi. 1. 24. Cp. Juvenal, 10. 122.

SED QUIA VEREBAR. QUIA is struck out by Gronovius and Martyni Laguna. Manutius supposes an ellipse of NON MISI. Kleyn proposes QUERI; but how could the infinitive stand in this sense with VEREBAR?

TOTAM AD TE DEFERO. *All my labour in this kind I lay before you, and submit it willingly to your judgment.*

24. CARIOREM . . . JUCUNDIOREM. A frequent Ciceronian phrase; cp. Ep. 2. 3. *ult.* The two words go together, the first signifying *valued*, a matter of fact; the second, *giving pleasure*, a matter of feeling. Cp. Ep. 2. 6. ad fin.; also 7. 15. Cp. Hor. S. 1. 5. 44, CONTULERIM JUCUNDO SANUS AMICO, but his usual word for a *dear* friend is DULCIS.

25. LEGEM CURIATAM. A LEX CURIATA, representing the assent of the old POPULUS or patrician body, was requisite to invest the great magistrates with their IMPERIUM. Appius's claim seems to imply that, though he was willing to comply with traditional rules, he was enabled by the constitutions of Sulla to dispense with them. Cicero's mention of VARIAS OPINIONES and of his own uncertainty, is enough to excuse any commentator from sifting the matter.

FERRI OPUS ESSE. Sch. M. Lag. *del.* FERRI.

SUNT QUI PUTANT. Orelli, with most Edd., reads PUTENT. Kleyn says, 'Recte Klotz ex Mediceo recepit PUTANT.' He cites Plautus Trin. 90, as showing the propriety of the indicative, 'in divisione certorum hominum'= in an express classification. Compare his correction above in Ep. 1. 1. 3.

26. QUIBUS. The correction IN QUIBUS seems necessary. Sch. and Billerbeck make it agree with LITTERIS: it may also be construed with reference to PUBLICANIS, *in whose case.*

FACILITATE. The v. l. FELICITATE would mean *I wish you had been fortunate enough.* Our accepted reading means, *I wish you could by any act of grace or condescension have avoided irritating the class.* Cicero had made great efforts to conciliate the Equites. Cp. Ad Att. 1. 17. 9, 2. 16. 4.

REM AUT VOLUNTATEM, i.e. *their real or fancied interests.*

Letter X.—B.C. 54.

LUC. VALERIO JURISCONSULTO . . . CUR ENIM=For I certainly must give you all the compliment of your title: assurance is everything nowadays.

VALERIUS is again mentioned, in most friendly terms, but jokingly, in Ep. 3. 1. 3, as a lawyer by profession if not by right (ETIAM SI NON JURE) of legal skill. Probably, too, he is the one mentioned in Ep. 7. 11. 2, for his pleasantries and convivial society. Comparing these passages all together, we may conjecture that the source of the raillery here passed upon him was either his assumption of a professional character at all, or, his having achieved some success in it, and that perhaps unexpectedly, more by luck than law.

ENIM. This abrupt beginning has given rise to a suspicion that the letter is but fragmentary, and the opening clauses lost. But the point of the jesting seems to turn wholly upon the superscription. The addresses of Roman letters commonly contained the title of honour or rank which belonged to the person addressed: thus Cicero writes to Lentulus as PROCONSULI, to Thermus as PROPRAETORI, to Appius as IMPERATORI. But to class the professional character of JURISCONSULTUS with these official designations is mere satire or jest.

SED TU VELIM, etc. Cicero had written to Lentulus, as he did to his successor Appius, in his friend's behalf, but he expresses his own real wish for his return. Cp. below, JAM CUPIO, etc.

ALIQUO NUMERO. A phrase of double meaning; either the opposite of SOLUS SAPERE, or, like ἔχειν ἀριθμόν, *to be of some consequence.* The latter is the usual idiomatic sense. Cp ALIQUEM NUMERUM OBTINEBAT, Brutus, 175; HOMO NULLO NUMERO, Philipp. 3. 16.

RESPONDEAS. The double meaning here is plain. Cp. Ep. 7. 16. 3. As a law term see Hor. Ep. 1. 3. 23, CIVICA JURA RESPONDERE, and Cic. Legg. 1. 12, SI TE AD JUS RESPONDENDUM DEDISSES.

SALVUM VENISSE. The point seems to be, *Apulia, your own Apulia, is so barbarous, that you will be hardly safe, but may expect the fate of Ulysses when exposed on his return home to the hostility of the suitors.*

COGNOSCES. A difficulty is started here in that Ulysses did know, though he was not known to, his friends on his return. And Orelli suggests, COGNOSCERE A TUORUM NEMINE. But the allusion to Ulysses is vague; and COGNOSCES seems to bring out more forcibly the SUPERBIA imputed to Valerius—*You are so great a man now* (EX HUMILI POTENS, Hor. C. 3. 30. 12) *you will not know your own.* It is possible, moreover, that the reference to Ulysses might include his eventual fate and the legend TELEGONI PARRICIDAE, Hor. C. 3. 29. 8, when the hero did not know his son.

BOOK II.

Letter I.—A.U.C. 701; *B.C.* 53.

C. CURIONI. Caius Scribonius Curio, a leader first among the Opposition (Ad Att. 2. 8. 1), afterwards among the Caesarians. Virgil is supposed to allude to him in Aen. 6. 620. Lucan speaks great things of his ability and influence, 4. 810 sqq. His oratory is described by Cicero, Brutus 280. He is called FILIOLA CURIONIS, Ad Att. 1. 14, 5.

[Forsyth (ch. 16, p. 289) supplies a good introduction to this group of letters.]

1. QUAMQUAM. This is a very carefully worded sentence in excuse of an apparent neglect of correspondence—'*I am distressed that you should fancy I neglect you; but my pain at receiving a remonstrance about any friendliness on my part is less than the pleasure of finding that it is in request.*'

NOMINE, i.e. '*on the score of* forgetfulness.'

REQUIRI=DESIDERARI (compare the next sentence), '*to be looked for*, wanted, valued.' Kleyn questions whether ACCUSARI OFFICIUM is correct Latin. He would transpose thus—ACCUSARI ABS TE QUAM JUCUNDUM OFFICIUM MEUM REQUIRI. No doubt the usual object of ACCUSO is the person, not the thing; as in the example he quotes from Plautus, Asin. 1. 3. 21, QUID ME ACCUSAS SI FACIO OFFICIUM. But we have ACCUSARE DESPERATIONEM, Ep. 6. 1. 5, and so INERTIAM, CULPAM ACCUSARE. The common text may, therefore, be defended, allowing, by a kind of zeugma, OFFICIUM to be taken with ACCUSARI in the sense of DEFECTUM OFFICII, but with REQUIRI in its usual sense.

BIS TERVE SUMMUM. For the difference of VE or QUE in this phrase, cp. Hor. Ars P. 358 and 440.

2. ET DOLUI . . . ET LAETOR, '*I am sorry to have lost your company, but I rejoice in your accession of credit.*' Curio was in Asia (see Let. 6), probably as quaestor: in Letter 7 of this Book, two years later, he is congratulated on his election as tribune.

CONFORMATUS. Cp. Hor. Car. 3. 24. 54.

AETAS INGRAVESCENS. A frequent phrase with Cicero. *That my old age may rest upon the love and promise of your youth.* He was now 54.

Letter II.—B.C. 53.

This and the next letter touch upon the death of the elder Curio, and the games by which his son proposed to do honour to his memory. Curio had been Consul B.C. 76, and was really distinguished in his province of Macedonia, obtaining a triumph B.C. 71. He was pontifex max. B.C. 57. He was very friendly with Cicero, and yet attacked by him in the speech IN CLODIUM ET CURIONEM (on the subject of which see note in Abeken, p. 140), which the orator afterwards endeavoured to recall and suppress. Ad Att. 3. 12.

GRAVI TESTE. Cicero had pleaded for young Curio, and persuaded the father to extricate him from the ruinous involvements into which he had been drawn as security for M. Antony. See Philippic. 2. 45.

FORTUNENT. Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 11. 22. With DI FORTUNENT, as relating to circumstances, compare the phrase, relating to conduct, DI APPROBENT QUOD EGERIS, Ep. 2. 18. ult.

Letter III.—B.C. 53.

1. RUPAE. Curio's freedman, authorised by him to promise funeral sports and shows (DECLARARE MUNERA).

INTEGRUM. See Ep. 1. 9. 10, and note.

AUT SCRIBAM, etc. '*I will write you my reasons fully, or will come on you unprepared, that you may not practise a set answer to them, and when we meet I will put my plan against yours.*'

TESTATUM. Used passively, as in 1. 9. 20.

SIQUANDO . . . DISPLICERE. *If you ever repent of your scheme*, i.e. if it should involve you in debt and embarrassments, as it did.

BREVI TAMEN. *Let me tell you shortly that you are returning at a conjuncture when your genius may achieve far more for you than shows; the exhibition of them is a mere mark of wealth, by which no one is dazzled, of which all are surfeited and tired.*

2. SED ALITER ATQUE. *But I am acting contrary to my expressed intention in proceeding to reason thus.*

INGREDIAR AD. Cp. AD DISCENDUM INGRESSI SUMUS. De Orat. 1. 94.

MUNERIBUS, i.e. VIRTUTIBUS, which are the most valuable MUNERA.

Letter IV.—B.C. 53.

ILLUD CERTISSIMUM. Bake would correct this to TRITISSIMUM, Orelli to CREBERRIMUM. But Verburg's explanation seems sufficient, 'DE QUO MINIME EST AMBIGENDUM AN ILLUD PERTINEAT AD EPISTOLARUM GENERA.'

The sense is then, *Of letters there are many kinds, and this especially a most certain one*, i.e. *a most certainly recognized one*; and the construction is an instance of Latin idiom adopting adjective for adverb.

UTAR . . . QUA SOLEO. *I must come back to my old style.*

ADVERSARIA. A metaphor answering to VINCES in the next clause. Cp. also in the next letter OPINIONI NON RESPONDEAT=meet their expectation. Cp. Ep 5. 12. 1, VEHEMENTER EXPECTATUM, TAMEN VICIT OPINIONEM; so Plin. Ep. 8. 24, TIBI CERTAMEN EST TECUM.

INFLAMMANDI. Cp. Ep. 1. 7. 9.

Letter V.—B.C. 53.

IN EADEM ES NAVI. Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 18. 87, TU DUM TUA NAVIS IN ALTO EST.

SITA EST LAUS—'SITA SIT, M. *ex* SITAST,' O.

TEMPORIBUS . . . MORIBUS. Cp. In Catil. 1. 2, O TEMPORA! O MORES!

Letter VI.—B.C. 53.

This is a very characteristic and urgent letter in furtherance of Milo's (PETITIO) candidature for the consulship.

1. S. VILLIUM. Perhaps the Villius of Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 64. See the Onomasticon of Orelli, or the Biogr. D. art. ANNALIS.

FAMILIAREM. *One of the household*, or simply, *a friend.* Cp. Ep. 3. 1. 2 and 3.

GRAVE EST, etc. *A modest man finds it difficult to make a request to a friend whom he has obliged.*

2. CUI MULTUM DEBEAS EIDEM PLURIMUM VELLE DEBERE. This is a fine sentiment, and partly corresponds to St. Paul's in Romans xiii. 8.

TUA IN ME. Sch. M. Lag. add MERITA.

CAPERE=χωρεῖν, used in a sense analogous to that of CUMULARE=*to raise to its height*, i.e. to fill up, to effect fully and completely. The sense will be, *I can sustain any weight of kindnesses, contain any amount, and repay them with advantage.*

ILLUSTRARE=*to set off in a clear light*; but as joined with CUMULARE it serves the purpose of an epithet, *in return to give full and marked measure*, illustrem in modum cumulare.

3. NON OFFICII FRUCTUM. *Not merely the satisfaction of doing my duty, but*, etc.

MIHI EST—mihit sit, O. *Fort.* ex MIHIST. Cp. Ep. 5.

HONOS. *Attainment of office.*

UNUM=UNUM MAXIME OMNIUM, *beyond all others.* UNUS often stands by itself in this meaning, more often with superlatives, occasionally (as Virg. Aen. 1. 15, Hor. Epod. 12. 4) with comparatives.

EX TRIBUNATU. This was in B.C. 57, the eventful year of Cicero's recall.

MUNERUM, See above, Ep. 3.

IN EO GENERE. *In matters of this kind*, i.e. in canvassing.

PROPTEREA . . . GRATIOSAM. Cp. e contrario, Ep. 1. 1. 4.

4. VENTORUM . . . GUBERNATOR. Cp. for metaphor Horace's POPULARIS

AURAE, C. 3. 2. 20, and VENTOSAE PLEBIS SUFFRAGIA, Ep. 1. 19. 37. Esp. the famous political song on Pitt—

'The Pilot that weathered the storm.'

VENTORUM may be translated *these fickle elements of success.*
COMPLECTI, i.e. *to patronise.*

5. PETITIONE MILONIS. Kl. *del.* MILONIS.
UNIUS TUI—TUO, O.

Letter VII.—B.C. 51.

It opens with a congratulation upon Curio's success in the election to the tribunate (SERA GRATULATIO; for the COMITIA TRIBUNICIA fell on the 17th July, see Ad Att. 1. 1), and concludes with an entreaty for his influence to prevent the writer's government being prolonged. Cicero had been forced to accept a proconsulate this year (see Abeken, p. 218 sq.). He went to Cilicia, gained a great military success over the mountaineers of the Amanus on Oct. 12, and a further one over the Eleutherocilices, whose stronghold Pindenissus he took on the first morning of the Saturnalia, Dec. 17, after a siege of 47 days (Ad Att. 5. 20) or 57 (Ep. 15. 4. 10).

The date of this letter is to be placed immediately after these events (see section 3), on or about Dec. 19.

1. NEGLEGENTIA. Probably this is the nom. case, '*if no neglect has been inadvertently allowed.*' I understand that the clause is so interpreted by Mr. Shilleto, in accordance with an analogous condensation in Thucyd. 4. 63, τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης . . . εἰρχθῆναι=the non-realisation of their schemes was caused, *lit.* hindered; i.e. they were hindered so as not to be realised. In effect the same principle is involved as in the frequent Homeric use of καλύπτω; e.g. νύκτα ἐκάλυψε, he threw the veil of night over, Il. *e.* 506; in ἕλκος τυφλωθέν, Soph. Ant. 973; in (probably) φρουρεῖν ὄμμα, Soph. Phil. 151, Trach. 915. So Virgil's FACIEM FALLE DOLO, Aen. 1. 684 (=falsam sume faciem). The verb in these constructions assumes a quasi cognate noun, expressive of the mode, instead of the direct object, of its action. In Livy 1. 44, AUGET ESQUILIAS (=takes in, addit per auctum) is altered by editors into ESQUILIIS, but may be defensible on this ground.

LABERE. Cp. LAPSUS EST PER ERROREM. Ad Quint. 3. 9. 8. Cp. the senses of σφάλλω, σφάλμα.

NON SCRIBO HOC TEMERE=I mean what I say. So in Ep. 4. 13. 5.

NE QUID TIMIDE. Kleyn proposes TEMERE, comparing Ep. 9. 16. 5; but, besides the evident objection to this, TIMIDE gives really a better sense; and answers to ANIMUM as STULTE does to CONSILIUM.

DEFENDES. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 7. 26.

2. VIS IN REP. TEMPORUM, etc.='the bearing of politics, the fluctuation of events, the uncertainty of their issues.'

AMABO TE=*I pray you*, a continually recurring idiom. So in Terence, Eun. 534. Cp. SI ME AMAS, Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 38.

SED ILLUD IDEM, like the Gr. ἐκεῖνο δέ, see my note on Hor. Sat. 1. 4. 64. Cp. too Cic. de Off. 3. 27. 100, ATQUE ILLUD ETIAM=*and he did more.*

TECUM LOQUERE. Cp. the phrase in Soph. Oed. Tyr. 583, εἰ διδοίης ὡς ἐγὼ σαυτῷ λόγον. So Eur. Med. 872.

ALTERI QUI MELIUS, etc. Cp. Shakesp. Henr. VIII. A. 1, S. 1:

'Not a man in England
Can advise me like you; be to yourself
As you would to your friend.'
'There is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself.'

3. EX SENTENTIA = κατὰ νοῦν. The phrase EX ANIMI SENTENTIA comes in among the instances of wordplay in De Oratore, 2. 260.

AD SENATUM. For these despatches see Ep. 15. 1 and 2. But they do not come down to the later events of the campaign: those are recounted in the letter to Cato, Ep. 15. 4, and to Atticus 5. 20.

SACERDOTIO. Curio desired to succeed his father as pontifex. Eventually he gained his point.

PROV. MOLESTIAM. Cicero could not be happy away from Rome. Cp. Ad Att. 5, 15, LUCEM FORUM URBEM DOMUM VOS DESIDERO . . . SIT MODO ANNUUM . . . SI PROROGATUR ACTUM EST. So he requests Hortensius, Ib. 5. 2. 1, NE PATERETUR . . . PROROGARI NOBIS PROVINCIAS.

TAMEN ADULESCENTE ET = (TUM) ADOLESCENTE ETIAM. O.

NE QUID NOVI. So Ad Att. 5. 1. 1, and 5. 9. 2, UT ANNUS NOSTER MANEAT SUO STATU NE QUID NOVI DECERNATUR. Cp. Ep. 1. 9. 2. We must understand these passages to imply that, common as it was for the term of provincial administration to be prolonged, it was by strict law restrained to one year. Cicero had left Italy in June; reached Athens June 29, Ephesus July 22, Laodicea July 31, from which day his administration dated, and he claimed that it should expire that day year.

Letter VIII.—B.C. 51, July 6.

M. CAELIUS RUFUS (see the History of the Oratio pro Caelio in Forsyth, p. 235), a native of Puteoli, an eques, at this time candidate for the aedileship. The next letter speaks of his success and election. His letters to Cicero occupy all the Eighth Book, to the first of which this one is a reply.

HOC TIBI MANDASSE. Cicero had commissioned Caelius to keep him informed upon affairs at home, but he did not want mere town or bar gossip:

NUGAS HOC GENUS . . . THRAEX EST GALLINA SYRO PAR?
Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 43.

COMPOSITIONES. *Matches.* Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 20.

VADIMONIA DILATA, '*recognisances enlarged*' (Forsyth, p. 314). Juvenal, S. 3. 213, uses this phrase to signify JUSTITIUM: DIFFERT VADIMONIA PRAETOR = *closes the courts.*

CHRESTI COMPILATIONEM. *Robbery by Chrestus.* This Chrestus is set down conjecturally by Orelli in his Onomasticon as LIBERTUS VEL SERVUS; and one is reminded at once of—

SERVOS,
NE TE COMPILENT FUGIENTES. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 77.

Middleton, however, and lately Wieland, and recent lexicographers, give COMPILATIO its modern sense of a *compilation*, or *news-letter*. And this meaning is certainly suggested by the terms of Caelius's letter. He there mentions an agent he had employed to collect news, and a VOLUMEN forwarded, (it is true the agent is not named, but he would put his name to his paper, 'CHRESTUS

FECIT,') and it is only natural for Cicero to mention it. But it is not likely that slaves and their doings would have been noticed in Roman society as a subject of talk (FABULAE). Again, the structure of the sentence, the change from plural to singular, implies that the term is inclusive. I cannot here investigate COMPILO, but I suspect its primary meaning was '*to pack, to put together*.' Cp. PILA, and Servius on PILATA in Virg. Aen. xii. 121. If so the proposed translation would give COMPILATIO its proper fontal meaning.

FORMAM. *Outline.* Cp. Ep. 3. 11. 4.

2. CUM POMPEIO. Pompey had a villa near Tarentum: Cicero visited him there on his way to Brundisium. Ad Att. 5. 7.

TANTUM HABETO=*all I can tell you is.*

QUARE DA TE . . . CREDE. These words are italicised by Orelli, who suggests, 'Est fortasse Lucilii versiculus.'

JAM. Manutius understands this as implying change in politics=non ut antea.

GALLUS CANINIUS. See Ep. 1. 2. 1. Cicero mentions his death in 44 B.C. Ad Att. 16. 14. 4. The transposition of names is to be observed, though not uncommon.

Letter IX.—B.C. 51, *from Cilicia, late in the year; at least some time after the Elections.*

1. CUM PRAESENTI, TUM SPERATA, i.e. your actual office and those to which it opens the prospect, viz. the TERGEMINIS HONORIBUS of Hor. C. 1. 1. 8.

UT DEDERIS NOBIS, i.e. *that you have given me a perpetual subject of laughter.* Schutz corrects QUEM into QUAE, following Martyni Laguna.

IPSE FACTUS SUM=*I mimicked him.* IPSE sc. Hirrus, Caelius's competitor.

ACTITAT, *whom he is always taking off.* JACTITAT is the common reading; ACTITAT a correction by Victorius, and generally accepted: it corresponds well to EGI.

2. NON EDEPOL, etc. Cicero is here quoting from C. Caecilius Statius, and lastly from Q. Trabea. The first is in Horace's list, Ep. 2. 1. 59, VINCERE CAECILIUS GRAVITATE TERENTIUS ARTE. Two passages are found in the Fragments of Varro characterising him: CAEC. STATIUS IN ARGUMENTIS POSCIT PALMAM; IN ETHESI (ἤθεσι) TERENTIUS, IN SERMONIBUS PLAUTUS, p. 300. Ib. p. 190, TRABEA ET ATTILIUS ET CAECILIUS πάθη FACILE MOVERINT. Trabea is referred to by Cicero, Ep. 9. 21. 1.

INCESSI . . . LAETUS. It is doubtful whether LAETUS ought to stand as part of the text here. It belongs to the original line no doubt, for it is so cited in Cic. de Finibus, 2. 4. 13; and it is necessary to make the construction grammatical. But it does not appear in the MSS.; and a half quotation is a common thing. Baiter, following M. Laguna, inserts it; not so Orelli.

DESIPEREM. Hor. C. 4. 12. 28, DESIPERE IN LOCO.

EGO VOLUPTATEM. This line is also in the De Finibus; and in the Tusc. Disp. 4. 15. 35 more fully, VOLUPTATEM ANIMI NIMIAM SUMMUM ESSE ERROREM.

Letter X., written probably on Nov. 15; *see note on* QUINTUM ET VICESIMUM DIEM.

M. CIC. IMPERATOR. He assumes this title in preference to the official name Proconsul, having been so saluted by his troops after the JUSTA VICTORIA at Issus.

1. HILLO, i.e. HIRRUS pronounced lispingly. Cp. the jest on Alcibiades, τραυλίσας, in Aristoph. Vesp. 45, ὀλᾷς; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει (for ὀρᾷς, Θέωρος, κόρακος). The full name is given in Ep. 8. 8. 5, as CAIUS LUCILIUS CAII FILIUS PUPINIA HIRRUS. But there has been some doubt as to the gentile name, which is commonly read LUCCEIUS. With PUPINIA, TRIBU is to be understood.

SED BALBI NON SUMUS=*but a truce to lisping and joking.* BALBI is thought by Gronovius to involve a jesting allusion to the next words, AD REM REDEAMUS, since lispers cannot pronounce *r*. Then the sense will be—*But I must be plain spoken now, and come to business.*

2. BIBULO. BIBULUS (see Ep. 1. 1) had Syria as his province.

DIVISUS AQUARUM DIVERTIIS. *Dividing at the watershed.* So Ad Att. 5. 20. 3, AD AMANUM CONTENDI QUI SYRIAM A CILICIA IN AQUARUM DIVERTIO DIVIDIT, i.e. the mountain ridge is the frontier line of the two provinces.

DIVERTIIS. So M.; DIVORTIIS, O. 'Cf. Buecheler, Mus. Rhen. xi. p. 510.' B.

CASSIUS. This is the chief conspirator against J. Caesar. His full name was C. Cassius Longinus. He went out as quaestor with Crassus. After the rout at Carrhae, he got back to Antioch, where there was great trepidation. See below Let. 17. 6. Cicero speaks of his dispatches as vainglorious and discredited, Ad Att. 6. 1. 14 and 5. 21. 2.

PROVINCIAM ACCEPERAT, i.e. had entered on his government, receiving it from Cassius, who after the death of Crassus, held it for his successor.

3. VICTORIA JUSTA, *a regular victory*; cp. JUSTUM PRAELIUM. On the subject of the military salutation, see Tacitus Ann. 3. 74. That this honour was achieved at Issus seems to have added much to Cicero's elation.

CLITARCHUS. An historian who accompanied Alexander the Great.

QUINTUM ET VICESIMUM DIEM. This marks the date. Pindenissus surrendered on Dec. 17 (see Introd. to Let. VII.). If the siege lasted 57 days, the 25th falls on Nov. 15.

4. UT MIHI SUCCEDATUR. *That my successor may be appointed.*

SPISSIUS. *More difficult*; more literally, a thing *for which there is little opening.*

ILLUD. Used elliptically and of what follows. See my note on Horace Sat. 1. 4. 64.

Letter XI.—B.C. 50, April.

AEDILI CURULI. In the preceding letters Caelius was addressed as aedile DESIGNATUS: he had now entered on his office. The Megalensia, mentioned below, were conducted by the curule aediles: they were in honour of Magna Mater, Cybele, whose worship at Rome dates from 203 B.C. They began April 4, lasting for six days. On their actual and legendary history, see Ovid Fast. 4. 179, 255, 291, 357.

1. PUTARAS NE. PUTARES NE, M. Cp. 2. 12. 3; 13. 3.

QUIDNAM DE PROVINCIIS. Cp. in the last letter UT MIHI SUCCEDATUR.

BELLI MAGNA TIMOR, viz. the Parthian war.

2. DE PANTHERIS. Caelius had requested Cicero to send him some wild beasts for the games he was to exhibit. Ep. 8. 4. 5, DE PANTHERIS, UT CIBYRATAS ARCESSAS. Cp. Ep. 8. 9. 3, where also the agency of Patiscus is mentioned.

NIHIL CUIQUAM INSIDIARUM. This is a jesting eulogy upon his care of his

province. In Let. ix. he had mentioned LATROCINIA as prevalent; we may also compare what he says of the sufferings of the provincials, Ad Att. 5. 16. 2, 3, and 17. 6.

Letter XII.—B.C. 50.

1. MOLESTE QUINQUATRUS. The festival of Minerva, which began on March 19. The mention of it may be a mere marking of time, since which (CITERIORA) Cicero had heard nothing: its celebration did not hinder the Senate from meeting (see Ep. 12. 25. 1). The agitation of the great question between Pompey and Caesar had been brought to a head on March 1, the usual day for assigning the provinces; Curio on the part of Caesar, Marcellus for the Senate, had been equally vehement; the popular feeling was all for Curio (see Merivale, ch. xiii. p. 97 sq., and Pompey's life in Plutarch).

CONTIONES here must mean *speeches:* it is elsewhere used of *assemblies*, but only of the popular, not the senatorian, assemblies; and the trial of strength above mentioned took place in the senate.

AFFEREBANTUR, i.e. *were reported*, cp. Ep. 14. ult.

2. DIOGENES . . . PHILO. See Ep. 8. 8. 10.

PESSINUNTEM, etc. The reading of this sentence has been difficult to determine. The old editors give AD DEIOTARUM REGEM, which is given up by all now as untenable. Orelli reads, PESSINUNTE DISCESSIT. ITER HABEBANT AD ADIATORIGEM QUAMQUAM OMNIA NEC BENIGNA NEC COPIOSA COGNORANT. The ablative PESSINUNTE would occasion a difficulty, since Cicero does not seem to have left his province. But Pessinus was a place of great resort, and he might have sent messengers thither on many accounts. See Harusp. Resp. 28, where the mention of Deiotarus as a patron of the temple may have led to the wrong introduction of his name in this sentence. It is clearly wrong, because inconsistent with his friendly character.

ADIATORIX was king of the Comani in S. Cappadocia.

AB. Orelli says, 'Vide an recte dicatur *iter habere ab aliquo*.' It is certainly not the usual phrase. Yet COGNORANT surely implies that they had been with him, and they had found him *neither liberal nor (possessed of the means to be so*, i.e.) *affluent*. (So it was with Ariobarzanes: EGET AERIS CAPPADOCUM REX, Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 39. Cp. Ad Att. 6. 1. 4). May not ITER here mean a *safe conduct*? This would meet the objection of Orelli, and also make the imperfect tense more natural and intelligible. If the phrase is merely equivalent to IBANT, one would expect the present tense to follow DISCESSIT.

QUEM BENIGNUM, etc., is the reading of M. Lag. It does not affect the sense, but is suspicious, as being less idiomatic than the common text, and wearing the look of an explanation.

3. NON ERAT = non futura erat. (Cp. Elmsley's note on ἦν=ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, in Eur. Bacch. 612.)

TRIUMPHARAM—TRIUMPHAREM, M. 'Cf. Wesenberg, p. 28,' B.

Letter XIII.

This letter is of an earlier date than the preceding: it is in answer to Ep. 8. 6. The affairs referred to are related in Abeken, p. 240; more fully by Forsyth, ch. xvii. p. 332 sq. Shortly, they were these—Appius's government in Cilicia had been as oppressive as Cicero's was remedial. He was jealous

and angry, Cicero conciliatory. But Dolabella, Cicero's intended son-in-law, perplexed him by impeaching Appius. The mention of VETERNUS=the lethargy or quietude of all things at Rome, shows that Caelius's letter was written before March 1, but that Curio had already changed sides.

2. STATIM COEPTUM ESSE, UT. *Immediately began, after*, &c.

STUDIORUM ETIAM, i.e. *not only has he publicly testified regard for me, and met me with private friendliness, but he has shown interest in my literary taste and works.*' Appius was himself literary.

κωμικός μάρτυς=*like the witness in a play*—always forthcoming.

ACCEDIT. Some editions read OCCIDIT here. But, besides that OPINOR would be not a very natural expression in connection with it, it seems a complete objection that OCCIDIT could not in prose be used in the sense of MORTUUS EST.

COLLEGAM, i.e. in the college of Augurs.

3. CONGELASSE. Cp. Ep. 8. 6. 3.

PUPUGIT. Cp. Ad Att. 2. 16. 1. But here the word is not mere metaphor, but used with a reference to the writing instrument, STILUS. The STILUS or GRAPHIUM might be used as a real weapon; see Suet. Jul. Caes. 82; Ca. 28.

CHIROGRAPHO=*your own handwriting.*

JURISDICTIONEM . . . PUBLICANIS ETIAM. See the account of these wise and kind measures in Abeken, p. 238, Cp. Ad Att. 6. 2. 4, 5.

PUTARAT—PUTARET, M.

ERAT IN ANIMO. The imperfect for the present (perhaps implying uncertainty)=*I am inclined.*' Compare 2. 7. 3.

LOCUPLETARAM—COLLOCUPLETARAM, M. Lag. Sch.

SUMMIS INFIMIS. The more frequent phrase is SUMMIS MEDIIS INFIMIS, as in Phil. 1. 37; 13. 45. Cp. Tusc. D. 1. 64, De Rep. 2. 69. Ep. 5. 8. 5, MINIMIS MAXIMIS MEDIOCRIBUS. Kleyn therefore would insert MEDIIS here: he accounts for its disappearance thus, 'VOX *mediis* PER COMPENDIUM SCRIPTA *mis*, ABSORPTA EST VOCABULO SUMMIS.'

REM MILITAREMQUE. This reading can hardly be right. Orelli, omitting REM, reads MILITEMQUE, making a good sense, viz. disposing the troops so as to guard against any surprise, viz. from the Parthians. Sch. and Bill, transpose, MILITAREMQUE REM.

Letter XIV., a letter earlier than the last, as is clear from the mention of winter and the non-arrival of news.

1. M. FADIO. M. Fadius Gallus, to whom Ep. 7, 23—25 are addressed.

MODESTIAM. Cp. Ep. 12, HOMO MODESTUS.

HOMINEM OCCIDAT. *One must commit murder to be noticed by you*, i.e. you will not interfere in trifling cases.

SI ME AMABIS. See above, Ep. 7. 2.

Letter XV.

(A reply to Ep. 8. xi.)

1. IS QUI ERAT IRATUS. Cp. Ad Att. 7. 1. 7. Hirrus is meant, who competed against Caelius for the aedileship, against Cicero for the augurate.

SEQUUNTUR—SECUNTUR. M.

2. SCIO CUI TUAE EP. *I know which letter of yours they correspond to*, i.e. Caelius hinted, Ep. 8. 13. 1, that Dolabella had made mistakes which would be corrected by Cicero's influence and Tullia's discretion. These mistakes were of course the measures against Appius mentioned in Ep. 8. 6. 1.

MEAM LEGAS, viz. Ep. 3. 10. 5.

SED QUID AGAS? SIC VIVITUR. *What is one to do? it is the way of the world.*

3. HONESTUM=honoratum, i.e. *I wish Caesar success.*

PRO POMPEIO. Cp. Ad Att. 8. 2. 4.

4. CAELIUM, i.e. Caelius Caldus, to whom Let. 19 is addressed. Cp. Ad Att. 6. 6. 3. (See *Abeken*, p. 248.)

POMPTINUS. Cp. 3. 10. 3. He had been praetor in B.C. 63, and aided Cicero greatly. He accompanied Cicero to Cilicia as legate.

POTENTISSIMORUM, viz. Caesar, Pompey. The former had M. Antony as his quaestor; the latter Q. Cassius Longinus. Victorius interprets CASSIOS ANTONIOSQUE as a plural for singular; but the addition of OMNES is against this. The sentence must mean that by their patronage they conciliated all of the name, the whole, or chief, of the GENS.

5. OCELLA. Ep. 8. 7. 2.

IN ACTIS. Cp. ibid. NONDUM RETTULERAT (where the reading is disputed; but see Merivale, *R. Hist.*, ch. xxxix, p. 409, note).

ACTA were the public registers of births, marriages, and divorces.

TUAE RES GESTAE. This is thought, coming so close after the mention of Ocella, to mean TUI AMORES, according to the metaphor in Hor. C. 3. 26. 2.

ETIAM DE MATRINIO. Nothing is known of this circumstance.

MATRINIUS is set down in the Onomasticon of Orelli as scriba aedilicius M. Caelii. But Schutz and Mart. Laguna read here M. ATRATINO.

ATRATINUS was a cognomen of the Sempronia gens. L. Atratinus is mentioned Ep. 9. 21. 2.

ETESIAE. (Cp Ep. 15. 11. *ult.* and Ad Att. 6. 8.) The periodical winds blowing by day in the Mediterranean from the north during forty days after the rising of the dogstar. So Pliny, N. H. 2. 47. Cp. Lucret. 5. 741; 6. 716, 730.

The Corcyraeans, Herod. vii. 168, pleaded them as their excuse for not joining the Grecian fleet at Salamis.

Letter XVI.—April, B.C. 49.

Between this letter and the last is a most important interval. Cicero was then looking forward to his return; he had now returned and found a civil war. See the letter to Tiro written in January, 49 B.C.: INCIDI IN IPSAM FLAMMAM CIVILIS DISCORDIAE VEL POTIUS BELLI.

I set down the steps of Cicero's homeward progress, and the subsequent events. His year of office ended July 31. On August 3 he was at the Pamphylian port Sida; embarked for Rhodes, and next for Ephesus. He found the ETESIAE against him, as he had feared. (Ad Att. 6. 8.)

He landed at Athens Oct. 14. He stopped at Patrae in Achaia, leaving Tiro there ill. He left Patrae Nov. 2 (Ep. 16. 9), reached Leucas Nov. 6, Actium Nov. 7, and on Nov. 9 CORCYRAM BELLISSIME NAVIGAVIMUS, where

he was detained by storms. On Nov. 25 he reached Hydrus, or Hydruntum (LUDIBUNDI PERVENIMUS), in Calabria; next day Brundisium. Finally he reached Rome Jan. 4, B.C. 49. But he would not enter the city, hoping for a triumph.

Meantime Caesar was at Ravenna; and the Senate had to discuss his proposal, viz. to lay down his military command, if Pompey did so likewise. This was rejected. The Senate called on the magistrates to see NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET.

The tribunes and Curio fled to Caesar, Jan 6. Caesar crossed the Rubicon Jan. 15.

Cicero left Rome for his villa at Formiae. He complained (Ad Att. 7. 19) PLANE OPPRESSI VIDEMUR, NEC QUID CONSILII CAPIAM, SCIO, and that Pompey (Att. 7. 21) TOTUS JACET; NON ANIMUS EST, NON CONSILIUM. Then he was distracted between his habitual regard, and even love, for Pompey, and his discovery that he was as ambitious as Caesar, as bloodthirsty as Sylla.

Pompey fled from Italy March 17. Caesar met Cicero at Formiae on March 28. The next month Cicero spent at his Cuman villa; from which he wrote the present letter in answer to Caelius, who (Ep. 8. 16) pressed him to take a safe course, and if he would not join Caesar, at least not to follow Pompey. (See more in Forsyth, ch. xviii. p. 372.)

1. NON EAM COGNOVI . . . UT NON PUTEM. A Ciceronian idiom for 'Your penetration is such that I cannot suppose you blind to what I can see myself.'

ILLUD MIROR = *what I wonder at is this.*

PENITUS NOSSE. Cp. Pers. 3. 30: Ego intus et in cute novi. EXCITATA FORTUNA AD INCLINATAM = to transfer my allegiance from the rising fortune (of Caesar) to the fallen fortune (of Pompey).

COLLECTAM. This metaphor corresponds to QUIDQUID VITA MELIORE PARASTI PONENDUM. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 15.

2. STOMACHI. Cp. Ad Att. 9. 5. 2: FINGE ME QUAMVIS εὐστομάχως HAEC FERENTEM.

POMPA . . . NOMEN IMPERII. Cicero had not yet given up his proconsular state, in hopes of having a triumph voted to him.

EO ONERE. Comp. Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 96: HONESTOS FASCIBUS ET SELLIS; where there is a v. l. of considerable authority HONUSTOS. Cp. also the remarkable passage there quoted from Varro L. L. v. 73: HONOS AB HONERE . . . ONUS EST HONOS QUI SUSTINET REMPUBLICAM. Observe also in v. 99 ONUS . . . MOLESTUM, corresponding to MOLESTA HAEC POMPA here.

LAURUS, i.e. the laurelled fasces.

VOCULAS, i.e. *I am exposed to the sight and to the sarcasms of my ill-wishers.*

VOCULAS is an evident play of words with OCULOS.

QUI CONVENIT, i.e. how can it be natural or possible that I shall?

EUM, sc. Caesar; EO, Pompey; AB EO, *on his side.*

3. T. AMPII. See note Ep. 1. 3. 2. No doubt the allusion is here to fierce and menacing language on his part.

CUM AUDISSEM, viz. that Pompey was resolved upon quitting Rome. The full stop after AUDISSEM is due to Gronovius. It seems certainly an improvement. It appears now to be authorised by the Medicean MS.

Q. HORTENSIUM. He was just dead. Cp. Ep. 8. 13. *ult.*; and see the elaborate LAUDATIO of him in the PROOEMIUM of De Claris Oratoribus.

4. REDEMISSEM. *I would gladly* (LIBENTISSIME) *divert to myself.* This is a good instance of the sense of change or transference belonging to RE in compound words. Cp. Hor. C. 2. 1. 38 (RETRACTES) and note.

5. MEMORIAM—IN MEMORIA. M. The accusative is read in the Editio Cratandrina described in Orelli, p. xxxiii.

SPECULA, diminutive of SPES, used in Plautus (not to be confounded with SPĔCULA).

LIBERALITATE, a very mild term for PRODIGALITY; and the accompanying terms MOLESTIIS and SUSTINUERIT must mean the annoyance from his creditors.

He endeavoured to extricate himself by being elected as a tribune (for which he had to be adopted into a plebeian family, viz. that of Lentulus), and then proposing a bill for the cancelling of debts: TABULAE NOVAE. Cp. Ad Att. 11. 23.

This expedient however was of somewhat later date, and Cicero's SPECULA was rather a general dependence upon Caesar, whose party Dolabella had joined.

(Many editors have LIBERTATE, understanding thereby a reference to political embroilments, and especially the action against Appius. But this can hardly be.)

QUAM MIHI IPSI—MIHI FUIT IPSI. M. MIHIMET IPSI. O.

6. HISPANIENSEM, i.e. *I am not waiting for the issue of events in Spain.* Caesar was about to cross into Spain to attack Pompey's lieutenants there, Petreius Afranius and M. Ter. Varro.

ASTUTE. Cp. Ep. 11. 28. 3: NON AGAM ASTUTE=*I will deal plainly with you.*

VATICINOR=HARIOLOR. Cp. Pro Sestio, 23: VATICINARI ATQUE INSANIRE.

TOGAM PRAETEXTAM. This was a toga with a purple border, worn by the chief magistrates. The meaning is therefore that Oppius was expecting some high office. Oppius was a most confidential friend of Caesar. See what Merivale relates of him, *R. H.* ch. xxi.

CURTIUS. M. Curtius Postumus. He had been recommended five years before by Cicero to Caesar (Ad Q. Fratr. 2. 15), but he is spoken of by him often disparagingly.

DIBAPHUM, i.e. the augural robe. Cp. Ad Att. 2. 9.

INFECTOR, *the dyer.* There seems to be some play on the word, or else it is merely a mode of saying: It will be long before he succeeds.

VIDEAS=*look to, procure.* So in Tusc. Disp. 3. 46; Ad Att. 5. 1. 3. Cp. ἰδεῖν in Soph. Aj. 1165: ὁρῶντας, Thuc. 4. 15, altered by Donaldson, perhaps needlessly, into δρῶντας.

Letter XVII.—July, B.C. 50.

(Addressed to Cn. Salust, quaestor of Bibulus.)

There is doubt about the name. The old form Caninius Salustius was objected to as an union of two NOMINA GENTILIA, and was corrected to Caninius, or C. Annius, or C. Antonius Salustianus. But the simplest con-

jecture is to adopt, with Gronovius, the praenomen Cnaeus; and he may be the same who is mentioned Ad Att. xi. 11.

PROQUAESTOR seems to have signified sometimes a provincial quaestor, sometimes a deputy or SUFFECTUS in the place of one deceased. Cp. In Verr. 2. 1. 15.

1. LITTERAS—BINAS LITTERAS. M. Lag.

STATOR. Cp. below Let. 19, and 10. 21. 2. The attendant or aide-de-camp on a provincial governor.

DE SUCCESSORE. Cicero was right in his anticipations; the political movements hindered any foreign appointments being made. See Ep. 8. 5 (a letter a year earlier than the present, yet explanatory of it). On his departure he left the quaestor elect, Caelius Caldus, in charge of it, as is mentioned above, Ep. 15. 4.

CICERONUM, i.e. his son and nephew. Kleyn rejects PUERORUM as a gloss, but see Ad Att. 6. 1. 12; also cp. Hor. C. 4. 4. 28: IN PUEROS ANIMUS NERONES.

2. NON ERAT INCOMMODUM. This is the idiom by which the imperfect indicative speaks of present time, but of a thing which does not happen, as in the usual Greek construction ὥρα ἦν.

There is a suppressed condition contained in the next sentence: SED VIDERIS, etc. *It is all very well for you to send in no account, if you were not bound to do so by the Julian law; a law which Bibulus for his own reasons* (viz. opposition to Julius Caesar) *does not choose to observe, but which you had better observe.*

NULLAM REFERRE—NULLAS. M. Lag.

LEGEM JULIAM. This LEX required provincial governors to deposit copies of their accounts in the two chief cities of their jurisdiction, and to send another to the Treasury. See Ep. 5. 20. 2 (which is a letter to his quaestor on the subject of his accounts).

3. APAMEA, called also Cibotus (κίβωτος), perhaps from wealth or stores deposited, in Phrygia, on the river Marsyas, now *Denair*. With Laodicea and Cibyra it made up the three διοικήσεις spoken of Ep. 13. 67. 1, i.e. districts of S. Phrygia, and originally belonging to the province of Asia.

MINUS COMMODOS, lit. *disobliging. I was annoyed at their ill-natured reflections upon my withdrawal of the troops from Apamea, but everyone believes that the Parthians have crossed the Euphrates on their return home; so I was able to dismiss the garrisons.*

5. MEI QUAESTORIS. L. Mescinius Rufus. See Ep. 13. 26. Cicero is said by Manutius and Billerbeck to have had two quaestors; and that perhaps the other was Volusius, and succeeded by Caelius Caldus, to whom the last letter of this book is addressed.

VERUM=AEQUUM. Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 7. 98.

NEC TUM—NEC TAMEN. M. Above, 7. 4, TUM is a v. l. for TAMEN.

SINE VECTURAE PERICULO. Schutz adopts a correction by Ernesti, DE for SINE, but, it seems, needlessly.

DRACHUMUM CCCIↃↃↃ=DRACHUMARUM CENTUM MILIBUS. Baiter adopts this form, referring to Buecheler, Mus. Rhen. xi. p. 515, and Wesenberg, p. 30. 'DRACHUMA is the form in which δραχμή was admitted into Latin. In the same way TECHINA=τέχνη, Alcumena, Aesculapius,' etc. Wagner, Ad Ter. Andr. 451. Cicero is reckoning by the Asiatic coinage. A DRACHMA is nearly=DENARIUS (as 9 to 8); 100 DR.=a MINA, rather more than 4*l*.

This sum is therefore about 4000*l*. In Roman money QUINGENTA SESTERTIA would most nearly express it. Cicero had obtained a large booty in his hill war; but the PRAEDA (EQUIS EXCEPTIS) at Pindenissus was relinquished to the soldiers. There was however a slave auction which realised H.S. CENTIES VICIES, 12,000,000 sesterces. Ad Att. 5. 20. 5.

OMNIS ENIM PECUNIA . . . CURETUR. PECUNIA is in its proper and earlier use *property* rather than *money*; and so here it means the whole (OMNIS) store captured, and includes the subsequent division of PRAEDA and MANUBIAE. MANUBIAE signified the produce from the sale of the PRAEDA taken, but also (according to Asconius in Verrem 2. 1. 59), ''PRAEDA IMPERATORIS PRO PORTIONE DE HOSTIBUS CAPTA,' which just answers to the descriptive phrase here QUAE MIHI ATTRIBUTA EST. The common reading with a stop after PRAEFECTIS, and CURATUR in the indicative, seems faulty in overlooking this distinction; still more faulty as to Latinity in leaving ITA . . . UT without a verb, merely=SICUT. (ITA . . . UT NIHIL in Ep. 1. 9. 20 is quite different.) CURETUR was first adopted by Baiter, but it is authorised by the Medicean MS. We may transl.: *The disposal of the whole property is regulated on this principle, that the mass is taken charge of by the public officers, my share by the quaestor.*

PRAEFECTIS. These are thought not to have been the military prefects, i.e. captains either of the cavalry or the allies, but magistrates who acted in the provinces with a local authority in the absence of the proconsul, and attended the general conventions for the revisal of their acts. C. Nepos, in Vit. Attic. 6. 4, speaks of prefectures as being constantly offered to him by the provincial governors.

5. MARIUM. Ernesti and Billerbeck suppose this to be the M. Marius to whom the opening letters of Book 7 are addressed; and they ask whether he was to be successor to Sallust or to Bibulus. Orelli sets him down as L. Marius, who took part in the prosecution of Scaurus in B. C. 54, and as succeeding Sallust in the quaestorship. Probably Bibulus, like Cicero, had no successor.

6. CUM MAGNUS, etc. After *detulerant* Kleyn would insert EUM 'QUOD EXCIDIT ANTE *cum*.' The word seems required. Baiter has inserted it after SOLITUM.

7. DE PRAETORE TUO. *About your superior officer.* Bibulus went out as proconsul, not propraetor. OFFICIO QUAEST. implies the close relation and regard between the quaestor and his chief. Cp. HANC QUAESTURAE CONJUNCTIONEM LIBERORUM NECESSITUDINI PROXIMAM, Ep. 13. 10. 1 (and so below, 2. 18. 2).

THERMUM. See the next Letter.

LITTERAM. Not to be confounded with LITTERAS=*he never sent me a line.*

AMICISSIMUS BIBULO. This seems to be the son who was seeking to be augur. His brothers had been lately murdered in Alexandria by the soldiers of Gabinius.

8. A ME ALIENIOR. *If his especial aversion is to me.* Bibulus was a weak man in a high position, and so, likely to be spiteful (MALEVOLUS) under provocation. He was barbarous when he burnt thirty ships, crews and all, as is recorded in Caes. B. Civ. 3. 8.

PERMUTARETUR, PECUNIAM PERMUTARE. *To negotiate bills of exchange.* Cp. Ep. 3. 5. 4: publicâ permutatione.

ALARIIS=EQUITIBUS AUXILIARIIS. Some cavalry levied in N. Italy to serve in the apprehended Parthian war. (See below, on Ep. 3. 8. 1.) *The dispensing with them was solely my act, but he claims credit for doing it as an act of grace to the people.*

ILLUD VERO. See above, 2. 10, *ult.* Cp. ATQUE ILLUD ETIAM=*and he did more.* De Off. 3. 27. 100.

PUSILLI ANIMI. Hor. Sat. 1. 4. 17. IPSA MALEVOLENTIA—IN IPSA. Sch.

JEJUNI, *paltry.*

ARIOBARZANEM. The third of his name. Cicero styles him EUSEBEN ET PHILO-ROMAEUM. See Ep. 15. 2. 4, and 15. 5. 1. He was hardly treated, and is called REX PERPAUPER, Ad Att. 6. 3. 5.

Letter XVIII.—May, B.C. 50.

Addressed to Q. Minucius Thermus, propraetor of Asia. (Letters 53–57 of Book 13 are to him.) The purport is to urge him on leaving his province to place his quaestor in command of it. Rhodo and Aristo were two friends of his.

2. SUSCEPTURUM. *You will expose yourself to enmity.* In Lael. 21. 77 the phrase AMICITIAE DEPOSITAE is contrasted with INIMICITIAE SUSCEPTAE.

ADOLESCENS. C. Antonius, brother of Lucius and Marcus A. the triumvir.

SI . . . AFFECTUS ESSET. *If he were to be slighted.* The past tense (ESSET not FUERIT) is dependent upon the historic tense OSTENDI.

3. IN TERRORES TRIBUNICIOS=annoyance from so influential a body as the tribunician. To understand the full force of this phrase we must remember the persecution Cicero had endured from Clodius.

QUAESTORIIS. Of quaestorian rank, having filled the office of quaestor. The title is used of Verres; Or. in Verr. 2. 1. 21.

SIBI TOTUM . . . OFFENDERIT. *His blunders will reflect solely on himself.*

QUOD IN CILICIAM. *Because I was just setting out on my return.* This seems to be an apology for hasty writing. Orelli suggests CUM (=QUOM) IN C. PROFICISCEBARE.

DI ADPROBENT. Cp. 2. 15. 2.

POSTERITATIS. Manut. compares Or. in Catil. 1. 22: SI MINUS IN PRAESENS TEMPUS . . . AT IN POSTERITATEM.

Letter XIX.—June, B.C. 50.

Addressed to Caelius Caldus, his new quaestor, of whom see notice above, Lett. 15 and 17.

1. OBTIGISSE. The provinces of the quaestors were assigned to them by ballot, though there were occasional exceptions. See Ad Att. 6. 6. 4: SINE SORTE.

SORTEM. May be transl. *appointment.*

NECESSITUDINEM. *Relation*, with the general and implied idea of *friendly* relation. See the quotation given at Letter 17. 6: *To the tie of our public relation I wish to add that of personal intimacy.*

ANTE DIEM DECIMUM K. Q., i.e. June 22.

DATAE. So in Ep. 2. 8. 3, DEDI.

2. FACIUNDUM ESSE UT . . . MITTEREM, i.e. *I must lose no time in sending*. Cp. 3. 1. 1 : PERFICIAM . . . UT SARCIAM=*I must take pains to make up for*, etc. 3. 6. 2 : FACTURUM . . . UT VENIREM.

QUAS SI SATIS OPPORTUNO, etc. And if they reach you in time, I hope you will come to me at once.

CURIUS. Mentioned as tribune, Ad Q. Fratr. 1. 4. 3 (B.C. 58). Ep. 13. 49 is addressed to him, not the Epp. 7. 28–31.

C. VERGILIUS. propraetor of Sicily in 59 B.C.

QUAECUMQUE. There is a lacuna in the MSS. after PROFICISCENTUR, which is supplied in early editions by ELABORABO. Madvig, Opusc. p. 397, supplies, as adopted by Baiter, PROFICISCI POTERUNT.

BOOK III.

Letter I.—Written B.C. 52.

This whole book consists of letters to Appius, the elder brother of Cicero's great enemy. He was brother-in-law of Lucullus, under whom he served in Asia B.C. 70. He had abetted his brother in hostility to Cicero, but (as is stated above, Ep. i. 9. 4) a reconciliation had been effected, and the first five letters of this series are most friendly in their advances. In B.C. 53 he succeeded Lentulus as proconsul of Cilicia, and was himself succeeded by Cicero. But he had the usual rapacity of Roman proconsuls, and took umbrage at Cicero's first steps, probably feeling himself tacitly rebuked by them, and mutual complaints ensued, as will be seen in Letters 6. 7. 8. Dolabella (see above, Ep. 2. 15. 2) impeached him on his return from his province, and Appius found it expedient to be civil, and Cicero was at least equally desirous of smoothing matters, as Letters 9 and 10 show.

Appius was censor B.C. 50. His severity is alluded to in Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 20, and sarcastically described by Caelius in 8. 14. 4.

Appius had been elected B.C. 59 into the College of Augurs, and wrote a Liber Auguralis. See Let. 4. and 9. 3. He is styled IMPERATOR in the superscription, and he even hoped for a triumph for wars carried on in the mountain regions of Cilicia.

1. PHANIA. See above, Ep. 2. 13. 2.

QUOD JUVET. '*Fortasse* QUOAD JUVET=*ita ut molestus non fiat*.' O.

PROVIDENTIUS=*a safer mode*. Cp. below, 5. 1 : APTIOREM PRUDENTIOREMVE.

VIDENTUR ALIQUAE MEAE PARTES. *I feel I have something to do*, i.e. I feel it right to express this.

USURAM. Cp. Tusc. D. 1. 93 : DEDIT USURAM VITAE TAMQUAM PECUNIAE.

SARCIAM. Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 3. 31.

NON INVITA MINERVA. See Hor. A. P. 385, and Cic. de Off. 1. 31 : INV. M. UT AIUNT, i.e. ADVERSANTE ET REPUGNANTE NATURA. Cp. Ep. 12, 25. 1.

QUAM . . . SI FORTE DE TUIS SUMPSERO. This is a designedly ambiguous phrase. What word is TUIS to agree with? The context only suggests OFFICIIS. But the suggestions of the commentators differ widely. Corradus and Manutius int. TUIS PROPINQUIS sc. CLODIIS, with this meaning: If I may be friends not only with you but your relatives, I shall feel I owe as much to you as to Minerva.

Cicero is thought by Gronovius to allude to a valued statue of Minerva, which on going into exile he had dedicated in the Capitol, and which he calls MINERVA NOSTRA CUSTOS URBIS. Ep. 12. 25. 1.

Cortius sees an allusion to the jest attributed to Clodius in PRO DOMO, 92.

Schutz understands it thus: 'If I may have one of your numerous statues.'

Gesner: 'DE MIN. SUA, i.e. ingenio ejusque monumentis loquitur.'

Appius was literary (this was indeed characteristic of the Claudian gens; see Mommsen, Append. vol. i.); and this might give a turn to the expression. Appius is termed in 2. 13, STUDIOSUS ETIAM STUDIORUM MEORUM. He subsequently dedicated his Auguralia to Cicero; and Billerbeck supposes Cicero in return to be referring to his projected De Divinatione to be based on Appius's work. The objection is easy that the De Divinatione was not published until 44 B.C., eight years later. But this interchange of literary compliments is clearly hinted at in Ep. 3. 9. 3.

Without attempting to particularise what is general or equivocal, we may take the sense thus: *I have the greatest regard for you, both for your own personal qualities and because you have taken my behaviour so kindly. I shall do my best to make up for the long break in our intimacy by the frankness and frequency of my good offices. And this, since you invite it, is I think but natural on my part. I shall be acting* NON INVITA MINERVA, *whom if I find* (FORTE) *I may take from you in kind, I shall surname not Pallas only but Appias.*

The word 'Αππιάς is not a mere coinage of Cicero. There was an Appias, and Deae Appiades, taking their name from the AQUA APPIA.

2. CILIX. Properly a designation of country, then a name.

3. VALERIUM. See Ep. 1. 10.

CAVERE. A legal term. Cp. De Orat. 1. 212. Cp. Phaedr. 1. 9: SIBI NON CAVERE ET ALIIS CONSILIUM DARE. Ov. A. A. 1. 84: QUISQUE ALIIS CAVIT NON CAVET IPSE SIBI.

Letter II.—B.C. 51.

EA TE PROFECTO N. FALLET. *In that you may be sure you shall never be disappointed.*

2. AUT RES VERBA DESIDERARET. Cp. Ov. Fast. 2. 734: Non opus est verbis; Credite rebus.

Letter III.—B.C. 51.

A. D. XI. = May 22.

MEIS ET BIBULI LEG. Cicero and Bibulus had each two legions. Cicero is also said by Plutarch to have taken out (not the usual complement of 600 but) 2600 cavalry. An extraordinary levy may very likely have been

voted to cope with the Parthian horse. But in Ep. 2. 17. 7 it is said that the ALARII proposed were not accepted. Yet Plutarch, if his numbers are right, must have reckoned them in, confounding the intended force with the actual.

SULPICIUS. Sulpicius was consul with M. Claudius Marcellus in 51 B.C. His full title was SERVIUS SULPICIUS LEMONIA (*sc. tribu*) RUFUS. He is the writer of Ep. 4. 5 ; and we have fragments extant of Cicero's funeral panegyric on him.

UT MATURE. This depends on CONSENSUS ; UT FUERIT upon TANTUS.

POMPTINIUM. Cp. 2. 15. 4.

Letter IV.—B.C. 51.

PRIDIE N. 4th of June.

L. CLODIO. He was Appius's chief officer of engineers. See below, 3. 8. 5.

Q. FABIUS. The same as the LEGATUS of the last letter.

FLACCUS. C. Valerius Flaccus, on Appius's staff. Mentioned again 3. 11. 3.

M. OCTAVIUS. See Ep. 8. 2. 2, 8. 3. 1. Curule aedile in B.C. 50 with Caelius.

AMANTISSIMK, etc. Schutz follows M. Lag. in reading SUAVISSIME SCRIPTUM, AMANTISSIME MISISTI.

2. CONSTABUNT=*shall be punctually discharged.* RATIO CONSTAT is a mercantile term for a correct account.

COLLEGII. Cicero and Appius both were augurs. Cicero had been recently elected in the room of the younger Crassus, after his death at Carrhae.

TAM HONORIFICE=*seconded by so marked a testimonial to my credit,* viz. his book dedicated to Cicero.

NE MENTIAR. Cp. Hoc juvat et melli est, non mentiar. Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 32.

Letter V.—B.C. 51.

1. TRALLES. In Lydia.

ANTE DIEM SEXTUM. July 27.

PRAESTITUERES. This is Orelli's ingenious correction of MS. RESTITUERES. The verb is not a mere synonym of PRAEPARARES. Its chief use is with regard to time, *determining or appointing particular days.*

2. AMICISSIMUM=*on the most friendly terms with you.*

3. ARBITRARETUR. The common reading is ARBITRARER.

PER FORE ACCOMMODATUM. A tmesis. Cp. PER MIHI MIRUM, De Orat. 1. 214; PER VIDERE VELIM, Ad Att. 15. 4. 2.

SI AD ILLAM. Sch. conjectures that ILLAM is a corruption from SIDAM (cp. below, 6. 1), and if so that MARITIMAM P. P. is merely a gloss.

LAUDICEAE. Another form of LAODICEAE, received by Baiter in this letter, and in 7, but not in 6. He refers to Usener in Jahn Annal. vol. xci. p. 228.

4. PERMUTATIONE. See on 2. 17. 7.

TUO COMMODO. Cp. Ep. 1. 1. 3.

UT TE VIDEAM ANTE. This is a conjectural filling up of a lacuna in all the MSS.

CONSTABUNT. Used as in the last letter.

5. SCAEVOLA. 'LEGATUS, UT VIDETUR, APPII.' O.

POTUISSET. POTUISSE EUM. Sch. M. Lag. Graev.

Letter VI.—B.C. 51.

This is a letter of expostulation with Appius for refusing him a meeting which he had engaged and made appointments for, and which the etiquette of office required as an ordinary compliment from a retiring governor to his successor.

The grounds of offence taken by Appius are detailed in Forsyth, ch. xvii. p. 332.

1. SIDAM. A port in Pamphylia.

2. In PRIMA PROVINCIA, i.e. *on the frontiers or extremity.* Laodicea, though within the jurisdiction of the proconsul, was outside of the country of Cilicia, and is expressly distinguished from it, Ep. 2. 18. 3. It stood near the R. Lycus in Phrygia, not very far from Apamea, and is the same which is mentioned in the Revelations. There is another town of the same name near Iconium in Lycaonia, sometimes called Laodicea Combusta.

3. LEGE CORNELIA. This law, passed by Sulla, permitted a provincial governor to remain thirty days after the arrival of his successor in his province.

LENISSIME. This is the corr. of M. Lag. for LEVISSIME, and again in L. 10. 5.

4. ET EST IN MULTIS. Manutius suspects these words of being a gloss explanatory of LATE PATET. Schutz omits them.

FORUM AGERE = that *you were holding a court.* Cp. (both for the phrase and the fact) Att. 5. 16. 4. Compare Virgil, Aen. 5. 758: INDICITQUE FORUM.

CONVENTUM AGERE is a synonymous term. See Or. in Verr. 5. 11.

5. QUAE SINT PLENISSIMAE = EASQUE PL. = *and those of full strength.* The conjunctive mood is used in this clause as being a subordinate and descriptive one. As a reason for the disappearance of these cohorts, Appius's intention of disbanding troops (spoken of above, Let. 3) is not perhaps to be overlooked. There had also been a mutiny, SEDITIONE QUADAM EXERCITUS DISSIPATUS, Ep. 15. 4. 2; SEDATA AB APPIO, Ad Att. 5. 14. 1. But Manutius supposes that Appius had them with him withdrawn from the headquarters in Lycaonia.

EVOCATORUM. These were soldiers who had served their time (EMERITI), who might be called out on emergencies. Cicero had levied a force of them EX SENATUS CONSULTO, Ep. 15. 4. 3. Nothing is known of their commander Antonius. He was perhaps the same who was on the staff of Quintus Cicero when proconsul of Asia. Ep. ad Q. Fratrem, 1. 2. 13. Orelli suggests this in the Onomasticon, but suspects that the name is a corruption from A. NONIUM. An instance of a praenomen omitted by MSS. occurs at 1. 9. 7; and see note on 1. 8. 1.

6. CAPPADOCIAM. The reason for choosing this route is given in Ep. 15. 4. 4.

Letter VII.—B.C. 50.

1. BRUTI PUERI. *Servants of Brutus* (so Ep. 6. 20. 1, PUERIS CN. PLANCII). Brutus had married Claudia, Appius's daughter (GENERUM TUUM, Ep. 3. 4. 2), whom he divorced in order to marry Cato's daughter Porcia. Cp. Ad Att. 13. 9. 2.

2. APPIANI. These were a people of Phrygia Pacatiana, with a town Appia, belonging to the conventus (=assize district) of Synnada. Plin. 5. 29.

VOLUMEN. The letter is so termed for its length. Cp. 12. 30. 1.

AEDIFICATIONEM. Some public building or monument in honour of Appius; for raising which the provincials seem to have complained to Cicero that the tax was very oppressive: INT. TRIBUTA EXIGI.

PERACUTE. Schutz and M. Lag. PERASTUTE.

3. AD OMNIA ACCIPE. *Hear my answer to all charges.*

MULTO PLURIS, i.e. PLURES, acc. pl.—VELLE EXISTIMEM. Ep. 5. 20. 6.

4. AUDIVI CUM DICERET. Cp. De Orat. 1. 129: SOLEO AUDIRE ROSCIUM CUM ITA DICAT.

VARRONEM. This is the great antiquarian, ten years older than Cicero, the HOMO πολυγραφώτατος of Att. 14. 18, M. Terentius Varro Reatinus.

Q. LEPTAM. Sch. reads ALTERAQUE LEPTAM; and M. Lag. doubts the praenomen having been Quintus.

PRAEFECTUM FABRORUM, i.e. *chief engineer officer*, as in the next letter, § 5. On the form FABRUM for FABRORUM cp. Cic. Orat. 156.

AN . . . NON PRODIREM, etc. *Was it likely I should refuse to come out? Was I one to withhold a mark of respect due to your personal dignity and public achievements; due in conformity with ancient observance; due, above all, to my friend?*

DEINDE QUOD CAPUT. Ernesti with great probability suggests DENIQUE. Compare Madvig's correction of DENIQUE for DEHINC in Livy, 1. 59.

AMBITIOSIUS. Cp. the use of AMBITIO in Hor. S. 1. 10. 84.

5. TU HAS INEPTIAS—*sc.* AGIS. An elliptic construction, as in Plaut. Pers. 4. 7. 8; Mostell. 5. 1. 39, NUGAS. The ellipse is as natural as in QUO TE, MOERI, PEDES? Virg. Ecl. 9. 1; more so than in SERVOS COMPLURES, Ter. Heaut. 65.

APPIETATEM. *Can you believe than any mere (claim of) rank weighs more with me than the virtues which should adorn it?*

VIRTUTIS is probably the genitive of apposition, as CURARUM is in Hor. Ep. 1. 3. 26.

ADQUIRENDUM. Schutz reads AD GLORIAM DEESSE, and also ἐξοχὴ for NOBILITAS; adding 'NIMIRUM EA IPSA VOCABULA GRAECA PONIT QUIBUS ATHENODORUS USUS FUERAT.'

Athenodorus was a Stoic, native of Tarsus, perhaps the same who has the surname Calvus in Att. 16. 11. 4. He was at one time tutor to Augustus, and is mentioned by him in a letter which illustrates two points of this passage of Cicero, viz. the harping on εὐγένεια as a stock word, and the insisting on URBANITAS (*polish and good breeding*) as a VIRTUS.

The letter is one deploring the awkwardness of gait and manner in Claudius Caesar, who ἀτυχεῖ πάνυ ἐν τοῖσι σπουδαίοις λίαν (=*is most unfortunate in things of great importance*); but UBI NON ABERRAVIT EJUS

ANIMUS (=*in matters where he goes right*) SATIS APPARET ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια. Sueton. in Claud. 4.

(The Delphin ed. and others take σπουδαίοις as masculine. The line seems corrupt and open to conjecture; but the context confirms the above version.)

NOBILITAS. This is thought to be used as by Juvenal, 8. 20:

NOBILITAS SOLA EST ATQUE UNICA VIRTUS;

and to be contrasted with εὐγένεια. ἐξοχὴ has less authority as a reading, and was perhaps introduced here from Att. 4. 15. 7; but, as its use there shows, it need not affect the meaning here, it might have the same sense that is assigned to NOBILITAS.

6. DEBERE *scil.* LABORARE. The syntax of MEA CAUSA requires this infinitive; it is to be supplied from LABORARIM.

πάρ' ἔμοιγε . . . A quotation from Agamemnon's speech in Iliad, 1. 174. (Observe the accent on πάρα.)

TUA CAUSA VELIM. Cp. Ep. 1. 1. 1.

QUAM IN PARTEM=*You will only make me indifferent to the construction you put upon my advances.* Cp. IN OPTIMAM PARTEM ACCIPERE, Att. 11. 7. 8 (*to take in good part*). Compare the synonymous term CONSULE BONI, Ov. Trist. 4. 1. 106.

In this sense ACCIPERE is joined with the adverbs AMICE, GRAVITER, DURIUS, ALITER, this last admitting a variation corr. to the syntax IN PARTEM, viz. ALIORSUM. See Ter. Eun. 82.

Letter VIII.

An earlier letter than the last, written in the preceding autumn. The date is specified in the last section.

1. AD URBEM. Not IN URBE, for Appius was hoping to have a triumph allowed him.

REFRIGERATO. When idle slander had cooled down and lost its force. REFRIGERO and REFRIGESCO are favourite words with Cicero in this sense.

FACIENDUM UT. Cp. above, 2. 19. 2.

2. TACITA. TACITUM RELINQUAT is in Virg. Aen. 6. 842.

MULTOS ET ILLUSTRIS. *Many marked expressions.* The addition of ET is in accordance with Latin, and also Greek, idiom.

ET EX SUPERIORE, i.e. *both in public and private.* The phrase corresponds to PRO TRIBUNALI above.

SOLLICITUDINE. Baiter brackets this. Sch. M. Lag. Or. read SIGNIFICATIONIS. Klotz seems right in editing SOLLICITAQUE, and his reading is inferentially supported by the Med. MS. where SOLLICITUDINE is partly erased.

AD LEGATOS. This was a deputation to Rome, got up out of compliment to Appius. Cp. below, LAUDANDI.

TOTUM GENUS, etc. *This fact* (i.e. the real purpose of the embassies) *was wholly unknown to me.* GENUS is used with great latitude by Cicero as a general abstract term, e.g. in Ep. 2. 6. 3, and De Orat. 1. 14. 60: DE OMNI REIPUBLICAE GENERE=*all public questions.*

3. URBANUM. Cp. URBANITATEM above, Let. 7. 5, and below, 9. 1.

PRIMUM. Sch. M. Lag. read here NIMIRUM.

MIDAEENSIUM. The inhabitants of Midaeum, a town of Phrygia Epictetus (see 10. 6), on the r. Bathys, a tributary of the Sangarius.'

SUA SPONTE=*by the weight of his own acts, without their interference.* Cp. Ep. 7. 2. 3, where SUA SP. is opposed to EORUM AUXILIO. SPONTE is probably allied to PONDUS. See Donaldson in Varronianus.

ITA VIDISSE. The correction of M. Lag. for ISTA.

LEGITIMO . . . INFINITO. These adjectives agree with SUMPTU. LEGIT. has reference to the Lex Cornelia mentioned Let. 10. 6, as limiting expenses of this kind.

QUID ENIM. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 7, 2. 3. 132, 201.

EDICTUM. On this subject consult Long's Excursus IV. in Verrem, entitled Edicta Magistratuum. They were codes of rules issued by high officials at the outset of their year of office. They might be wholly new, or (TRALATICIA) adopted from former codes and established precedents. Hence TRALATICIUS comes to be a synonym for VULGARIS, USITATUS, as in Ep. 8. 5. 2.

QUAM SI CUJUS, i.e. You do me as much wrong by lending ear to these tales, as they who utter them.

4. ID EST IN SENATU. This clause is manifestly a gloss; but the inverse order of words in Philipp. 4. 14 is descriptive, not explanatory: SENATUM, ID EST, ORBIS TERRAE CONSILIUM. So Kleyn.

DIOECESIUM. Cicero's province comprised seven of these districts, viz. Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, part of Phrygia, Laodicea, Cibyra, Apamea. (See Manutius's introductory note to the 5th book AD ATTICUM.) Cicero enumerates his 'courts' (FORA v. CONVENTUS) Ad Att. 5. 21. 9.

CIS TAURUM, i.e. on the Roman or north side of M. Taurus.

5. NISI FORTE. *But perhaps.* So Paradox. 4. 28; NISI FORTE . . . ARBITRABARE.

APAMEAE. See note on Ep. 2. 17. 3.

PHILOMELIUM, in Phrygia, on the borders of Lycaonia. The time of Cicero's stay at each of these places he mentions Ad Att. 5. 2.

A ME. Sch. M. Lag. read MAXIME.

M. MANE (probably an abbreviation).

NE IN VENDITIONEM, etc. *That the farming of rates, and the grievous exactions of poll-tax and door-tax might not be saddled with unnecessary charges.* Cp. Ad Att. 5. 16. 2: IMPERATA ἐπικεφάλια . . . ὠνάς, OMNIUM VENDITAS.

NON GENERUM TUUM. There is some corruption here. M. Lag. omits these words.

LIBERTUM. Phanias. PRAEFECTUM. Clodius.

QUA RE POTES, etc. The sense is: *You should follow the rules laid down by the best writers on Friendship, and reject all language respecting friends which savours of disputing or defending.*

6. CONSTANS ET GRAVIS. *My course has been consistent and earnest.*

GRAVIS is the opposite of LEVISSIMO in the opening of this letter.

QUID POTEST ESSE CALLIDIUS. Ironical. *That would be a proof certainly of craft if, after having always stood up for you, and that without any thought of ever needing your support, I so acted as to give you just cause for abandoning me when assailed behind my back.*

MINUS FELICEM, i.e. *that your credit had suffered through the unscrupulous conduct of others.* A cruel act of oppression by one of Appius's PRAEFECTI, Scaptius, is related Ad Att. 6. 2. 8.

DISSIMILITUDINE. Cp. Ep. 2. 13. 2; Ad Att. 6. 1. 2.

8. PROLIXA. Cp. ANIMO LIBENTI PROLIXOQUE, Ad Att 16. 16. 13.

LIMAVIT, Hor. Ep. 1. 14. 38.

AD LARGIENDUM EX ALIENO. This is probably a secret hit at Appius, for this letter is full of irony. Appius was rapacious, but no doubt lavish to his officers, who LAEDI SE PUTABANT (§ 7) by Cicero's integrity. Cicero felt for the miseries of the provincials (TEMPORIBUS QUIBUS ALII MOVENTUR), and was stringent (ACERBUM) to their oppressors that he might be at peace (DULCIS) with himself.

ME ESSE. Sch. and M. Lag. read MED. The quotation is not traced. Kleyn suspects that the sentence above NON NOSTRAM IS . . . SED INDICAT SUAM is a quotation; it scans as an octonarian iambic.

9. HORTENSIUM . . . COLLEGAM. Hortensius was of the Augural College. Cicero mentions gratefully (De Cl. Orat. 1): COOPTATUM ME AB EO IN CONLEGIUM.

MEA CAUSA . . . FECIT. Cp. for verbal correspondence, Hor. S. 1. 4. 97.

BIMA. *This two years' proposition*, i.e. that my government should last two years. Cp. Ad Att. 5. 9. 2.

10. MOPSUHESTIAE. In East Cilicia, on the river Pyramus, twelve miles from the coast, in the πέδιον Ἀλητόν of Hom. Iliad, 6. 201. The name is from the soothsayer of old legend, Μόψου ἑστία. Compare De Divin. 1. 40. 88.

AD ME. Sch. and others read AD MEOS. Kleyn would omit the words. Orelli supports the phrase from Pro Milone, 19, DEVERTIT CLODIUS AD SE IN ALBANUM.

PARTHICO ORNATU. *In guise of Parthians.*

ADMIXTO. M. Laguna suspects this word. Unless it is strained to the meaning of ADSUMPTO EX PARTE, what can it mean? He would read ADSUMPTO. Orelli suggests ADSCITO.

Letter IX.—B.C. 50.

A letter of reconcilement and friendly requests.

1. PHILOTIMO. This name occurs frequently. Manutius questions whether this was the LIBERTUS of Terentia, or whether there was more than one person of this name.

TUENDIS. Cp. Ep. 13. 68. 3: TUEBOR OMNI OBSERVANTIA.

SI QUID INCIDERIT . . . RELATURUM. A quotation from Appius's letter: *If anything occurs in which my credit is concerned, you will return my kindness.* For the meaning compare Ep. 13. 1, where he thanks him for his influence in promoting the SUPPLICATIO mentioned below.

2. DE SPE MINIME DUBIA. *I was glad to find you were sure of your triumph.* Appius however was disappointed; in consequence of Dolabella's impeachment of him he dropped the request. Ep. 8. 6. 1.

QUO IPSE FACILIUS, i.e. *it would be a precedent, and smooth the way, for my gaining the same distinction.*

SI QUID VELIS. (Compare the form NUM QUID VIS? Hor. S. 1. 9. 6.) This is a form of bidding good bye, and volunteering to execute any commission.

LONGI SUBSELLII. *The long bench*, i.e. the Senate. The phrase seems to be used in reference to the judicial functions of the Senate. SUBSELLIA was the proper term for the jury courts, in distinction from the FORUM or praetor's court, as in De Orat. 1. 8. 32.

3. PROMISSI AC MUNERIS. Cp. Ep. 3. 11. 4: TUA PROMISSA, i.e. the treatise on Augury, of which Cicero had received the first part. See above, Ep. 4.

4. ET ENITARE, *vulgo* CURES ENITARE. Baiter cf. Ep. 10. 3.

NAVIGANDI. This is a frequent complaint. Cp. Ad Att. 5. 12; 15. 25; Ep. 6. 20. 1.

DISCESSUM. *The prorogation of the house*, on the recurrence of festivals or else the elections (DIES COMITIALES, cp. Ep. 1. 4. 1). So Schutz.

ERUNT . . . HABEBIS—quasi-imperatives. *Take under your protection.*

COMMENDATOS. Cp. Ep. 1. 3. 2.

Letter X.—B.C. 50.

A laboured explanatory letter to remove suspicions of collusion with Dolabella in proceeding against Appius, and in general all doubt of his (Cicero's) sincerity, and promising to use all his influence with the provincials to counteract the promoters of the indictment. There is some expostulation, copious profession of friendship, and an extravagant outburst of regard and admiration for Pompey.

1. EORUM QUI, i.e. Dolabella; but the plural is adopted as less personal.

ME COLLEGI. See Cic. Tusc. D. 4. 36. 78: QUID EST SE IPSUM COLLIGERE NISI DISSIPATAS ANIMI PARTES RURSUM IN SUUM LOCUM COGERE. Cp. Eur. H. F. 626: ξύλλογον ψυχῆς λαβέ.

TANTI. Cp. TANTAM, 1. 7. 4. So De Divin. 2. 2. 7: TANTUM . . . QUANTUM VACABIT.

FACIES SAPIENTER. *You will act philosophically, and derive your truest triumph from your enemies' disappointment.* This is in the spirit of Horace's (C. 3. 2. 17), VIRTUS REPULSAE NESCIA SORDIDAE.

NERVIS. *Vigour, energy.*

ROGANDO DEPRECATORIS. *I will take on myself the character of an intercessor, of a near relation, and use in your behalf all the influence which I hope I may claim from personal regard, and all the weight that belongs to official station.*

Q. SERVILIUS CAEPIO. A kinsman of Appius, and a confidential agent.

2. TEMPUS. *A crisis.* The word often carries the implied sense of *grievance* or *danger*. So below, in section 7: HOC TUO TEMPORE.

COMMISSUM . . . ET ADMISSUM. *I shall own myself guilty and disgraced.*

COMMITTO=*I commit*; ADMITTO=*I incur*, are practically synonymous, but the former is said to apply to punishable conduct; the latter, to moral liability. The proper syntax of ADMITTO is seen in Horace, E. 1. 16. 53: NIHIL ADMITTES IN TE.

3. POMPTINUS, or POMPTINIUS, is mentioned above, Ep. 2. 15. 4, 3. 3. 2. He had sued for and gained a triumph over the Allobroges. Appius had supported him against strong opposition. See Ad Att. 4. 16, 12.

AMPLITUDO . . . FUTURA SIT, i.e. *will redound to your credit.* AMPLITUDO is a marked word for the dignity accruing from rank and station. So AMPLUS, in the next and 9th section, and in such expressions as HONORIBUS AMPLIS, VIR AMPLISSIMUS.

5. JUDICIIS. Cp. Ep. 6. 11. 1. The ADOLESCENS alluded to is Dolabella.

LENISSIME. A necessary correction again for LEVISSIME.

M. CAELIO. See Ep. 8. 6, and 2. 15. 2.

6. EX EPICTETO. See Ep. 3. 8. 3. Some editors have omitted this clause, but it is certainly of value, in making the statement precise, not general.

INDUXIT, i.e. *set down in the account.* Lambinus mentions the v. l. INDIXIT, i.e. IMPERAVIT, a sense unsuitable. DUCO and DICO are easily and frequently confounded in MSS. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 56

8. CADERE IN. Cp. Virg. Ecl. 9. 17: CADIT IN QUEMQUAM TANTUM SCELUS?

PROPE NECESSE, i.e. you were obliged to side with your brother, viz. Clodius (in driving me to extremity and exile).

FRUSTRA EGISTI. FRUSTRA signifies disappointment; AGERE CUM is to deal with, to propose anything to, or request anything from, anyone.

PUTEOLIS. *An* PUTEOLOS? O. No other critic notices the difficulty of the common reading; yet neither *at* nor *from Puteoli* offer an intelligible sense. But Puteoli was a probable place of embarkation for Appius, to which his friends or partisans might accompany him (PROSEQUERENTUR) out of compliment.

9. OMNIA AD . . . REFERRE. Cp. OMNIA AD VOLUPTATEM REFERENS, De Orat. 1. 226; AD PERSONARUM DIGNITATEM OMNIA REFERRENTUR, ib. 141; De Off. 1. 25. 1.

AFFINES. Pompey and Brutus.

STUDIORUM, etc. Cp. Ep. 2. 13. 1. The passage reminds one of Cowley's lines, and also of the happy and conciliating application of them by Curran, when speaking before, and to, Lord Avonmore (in 1805, for Johnson):

> We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence, and poetry:
> Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.

10. MIHI . . . RESTITUTUM. Cp. MIHI ME REDDENTIS, Hor. E. 1. 14. 1. The correspondence is little more than verbal.

ORNATUM. So Cratander, ORNATISSIMUM. M. *Fortasse* ORNATUM ESSE. O.

TEMPORIS INVIDIA. Manutius thinks that the reference here is to the attempt to implicate Cicero in the murder of Clodius.

11. PERFECTA. PROFECTA. M.

SUNT. SINT. M.

Letter XI.—B.C. 50.

1. ABSOLUTIONE MAJESTATIS. *Acquittal on the charge of* MAJESTAS. This might apply to (SI QUIS PRODITIONE EXERCITUM, AUT PLEBEM SEDITIONIBUS, DENIQUE MALE RE GESTA, MAJESTATEM P. R. MINUISSET. Tac. Ann. 1. 72)

traitorous or seditious acts or maladministration. Cp. Cic. de Inv. 2. 7. 53. The charge was properly CRIMEN MAJESTATIS LAESAE or MINUTAE, to which Cicero presently refers in the words ALTERAM (sc. MAJEST.) AUXISTI.

2. A CUNCTO POPULO. The preposition is omitted in M.; editors have inserted it; it is necessary with the particular and distributed terms, not perhaps with the general term, and with the adjective added.

QUIA . . . ADSENTIOR. ASSENTOR, *deleto* QUIA. Orelli.

DE AMBITU. The indictment for *bribery*. What does it signify, you will say, which charge is first disposed of?

VERUM TAMEN, etc. Here the MSS. are corrupt, and the correction of them quite uncertain.

The sense of the text here given is supposed to be this: *The treason charge is so undefined under Sulla's enactments, that anyone might be denounced safely. But the charge of* AMBITUS *is specific and direct, proving either accuser or defendant wrong.*

This interpretation makes UT dependent on EA EST; consequently LICERET ought to be LICERAT.

In the Medicean, EA is not found, and NE is in the place of UT. Then UT LICERET must depend on VOLUIT; and Gronovius interprets that Sulla's law provided against groundless and slanderous indictments. But this does not suit the argument, nor explain EST MAJESTAS.

Schutz reads, EA EST MAJESTATIS VIS ET SIC INVOLUTA, UT IN QUEMVIS IMPUNE DECLAMARE LICERAT. In confirmation of the conjecture INVOLUTA, he cites Orator, 33. 116: INVOLUTAE REI NOTITIA DEFINIENDO APERIENDA EST; Acad. 2. 8. 26: CUM EA QUAE QUASI INVOLUTA FUERUNT APERTA SUNT. And his reading has the merit of being intelligible and Ciceronian, which can hardly be said of the clause SULLA VOLUIT. For is VOLUIT=TULIT LEGEM, or EDIXIT, or ID EGIT? It must be equivalent to one or the other, but it will be difficult to find any such usage elsewhere in Cicero.

Again, when Sulla is mentioned it is in association with some personal act, some instance of despotism or the like; so SULLATURIT does not mean is ready to legislate but to proscribe. His legislative acts are LEGES CORNELIAE.

CUI SUSPECTUS FUIT. This is the true, not the aoristic, perfect: *By whom has it ever been suspected?* not SUSP. EST. This distinction is apt to be overlooked; but see Madvig, Gr. § 344, and his Excursus, Opusc. Ac. Att. p. 218, sq. In Horace, Sat. 2. 8. 6, FUIT CAPTUS must be taken not historically (in which case ERAT or FUERAT would there be required), but as the actual words of the host.

3. MERCENNARIIS. Witnesses brought over to give testimony against Appius. So Manutius.

NOTANDIS. Gronovius refers to Livy, 27. 25.

FLACCUM. See Ep. 3. 4. 1.

FORMAM. Cp. Ep. 2. 8. 1. Schutz alters QUOD into QUA, and the punctuation AD ALTERAM EP. VENIO, QUA AD ME . . . MISISTI EXPRESSAM.

ET MAJORA PRAESIDIA, *scil.* 'QUAM SPERABAM ex antecedente QUAM TIMEBAM intelligendum.' So Billerbeck and Schutz.

PER TE. PERITE. M.

5. D. TULLIUS, *vulgo* TULLIUS: DICIT TULLIUS. M. Nothing is known of him.

DISERTAE. This is an equivocal word, applied to either grace or clearness of language, eloquent or candid.

PROAVO, i.e. Ap. Claud. Caecus, censor in 312 B.C. But Manutius observes that he was rather TRITAVUS than PROAVUS.

Letter XII.—B.C. 50.

1. NE IN TABELLAE, etc. *Not even under shelter of the ballot.*

NON HORUM, etc. The sense is: Such a tribute to excellence is a strange thing at the present day.

2. EUM ESSE TE, i.e. *put yourself in my place.* (Cp. Ep. 7. 23. 1.) Cicero is here apologising for the betrothal of Tullia to Dolabella, and pretends that it was concluded without his knowledge.

ET ITA, *vulgo* SED ITA. ET makes a better sense, and the S was perhaps added from the preceding word—a common source of error. The correction is authorised by Gronovius and Wesenberg.

CECIDISSE UT AGERENTUR. And the fact of this happening at such a conjuncture, I hope may not be without its happy influence.

This must mean that Appius may be convinced he was not to blame, and that no change of circumstance will alter his attachment. See the expressions which follow: QUAE GESTA SINT AB ALIIS ESSE GESTA, and AFFINITAS NOVA CURAM MIHI AFFERT, etc.

UNUM NON VEREOR. *Al.* UNUM VEREOR.

4. DIXI STATIM . . . UT . . . EXPECTARET. This seems to be the same construction as in DIC VENIAT. *I bade him at once look for increased proofs of friendship on my part.*

Letter XIII.—B.C. 50.

A letter of thanks and compliment.

1. TALI IN OFFICIO, i.e. in furthering his desire for a SUPPLICATIO as an honorary public recognition of his success.

CONVENIENDIS. Cp. Ep. 1. 8. 7.

AMPLIORA, *more honourable.* See note on 3. 10. 3.

2. IDEM SENTIMUS. Cp. Ep. 1. 9. 10.

MEOS, i.e. Dolabella, the contract with whom is further alluded to in the words HAC RE NOVATA.

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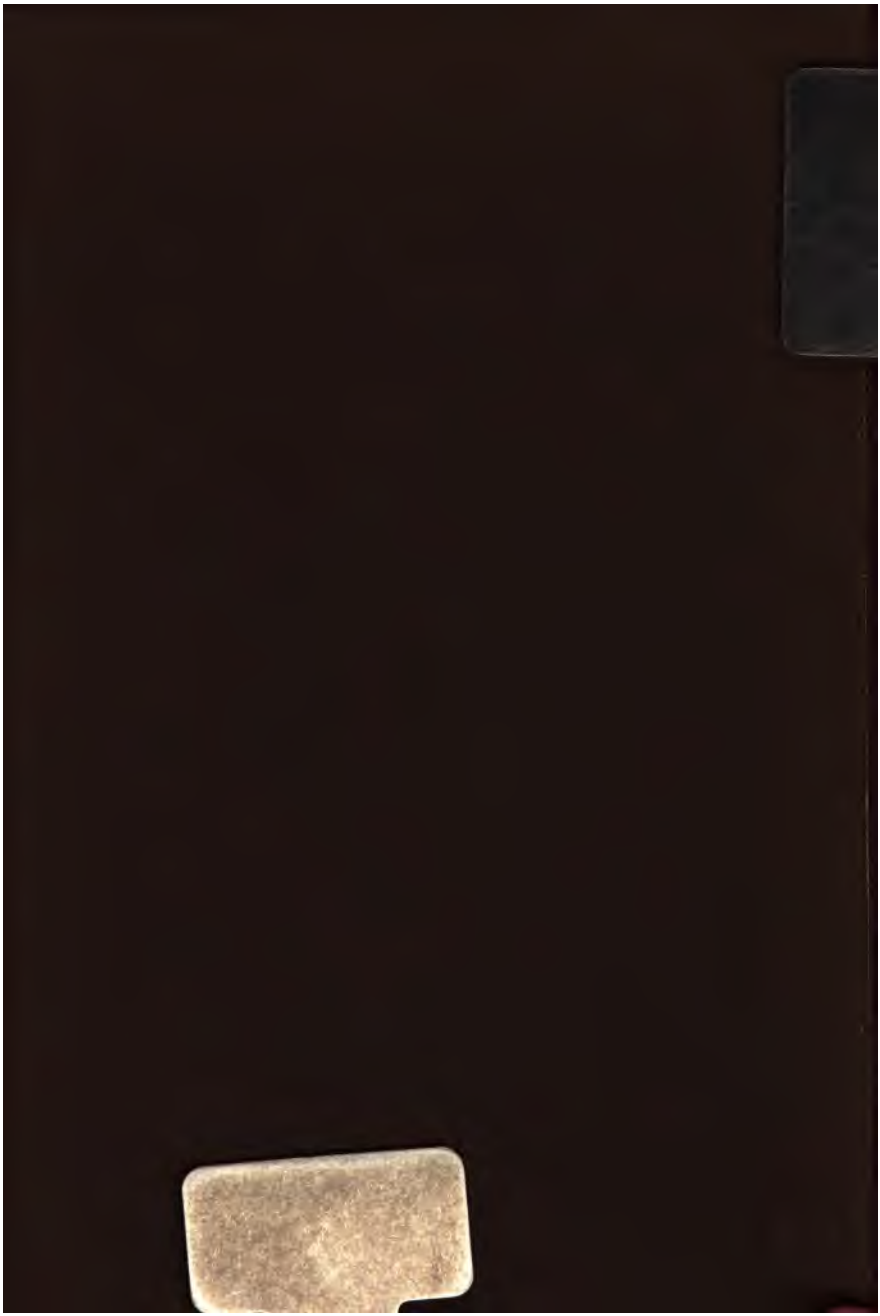
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